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**On the Ethnography of the Northwest Solomon Islands
(Zur Ethnographie der nordwestlichen Salomo Inseln)**

by R. Parkinson

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Anthropological-Ethnographic Museum in Dresden**

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On the Ethnography of the Northwestern Solomon Islands

By

R. Parkinson

in Ralum, New Pomerania, Bismarck Archipelago

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[1] Our knowledge of the Solomon Islanders is rather sparse even today. Up to the present the most valuable contributions have been made by H. B. Guppy, The Salomon Islands and their Natives (1887) and C. M. Woodford, A Naturalist Among the Head-hunters (1890); but even these two did not have the opportunity to become acquainted with the extreme northwestern islands of Buka and Bougainville. On its voyage the "Gazelle" touched the west coast of Bougainville on the twenty-fifth of August 1875; since that time merchants have frequently visited the island, in part to make purchases and in part to recruit workers for plantations in other areas. On these occasions bloody conflicts frequently arose between the natives and the whites so that the former have gained the reputation of being a warlike and cruel people. I believe, however, that this reputation is unmerited. It cannot be denied that quite a few white men in Bougainville have been slain by the natives; but frequently we must acknowledge that the death of a great many of them was caused by their own misdeeds. The recruiting of plantation workers with its many evil consequences has nevertheless had one advantage. A large number of the natives have seen other regions, become acquainted with other circumstances, and come to comprehend the character of the white man better. Thereby, in the course of the years, a transformation has taken place in their mutual relationships; even if one party cannot meet the other with absolute confidence, still a certain armed neutrality has been brought about by means of which a rather calm and peaceful relationship is gradually being built up. 114 648 439

The following statements on the ethnography of the northwestern Solomon Islands (Buka, Bougainville, the islands of the Bougainville Strait) including Carteret and Nissan Islands (1) are the result of 124

1. Both of these island groups must be considered as belonging ethnographically to Buka, Bougainville, and the islands of the Bougainville Strait. The Carteret Islands were populated by natives from Buka about 174

three generations ago, according to the statements of local inhabitants. According to tradition these little islands were inhabited by light-skinned natives who were slain by the immigrants. Nowadays traces of these earlier inhabitants are still to be found in the form of ax blades made of tridacna shell, which now and then are discovered by the present inhabitants when they are turning the soil. These ax blades bear the greatest similarity to blades of the same material from the Fead, Mortlock and Ongtong Java Islands. Hence it may probably be assumed that the original population was very closely related to the present-day inhabitants of the above-mentioned island groups. On Nissan I sought in vain for such vestiges. The population there is rather numerous and keeps up active relations with Buka. A mixture of various tribes, to be sure, is noticeable, but it can be explained by the fact that there exists an annual connection with the St. John Islands (Wonneram), which is inhabited by people from south New Mecklenburg [New Ireland], via Green Island (Pinepil), situated not far from Nissan--a connection that has left noticeable traces, both ethnographic as well as anthropological, on Wonneram as well as Nissan. (Cf. R. Parkinson, Beiträge zur Kenntniss des Deutschen Schutzgebietes in der Südsee" [Contributions to the Knowledge of the German Protectorate in the South Sea], SA. a.d. Mitth. Geogr. Ges. Hamburg [reprint from Mittheilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in Hamburg] 1887-1888, Number 3, pages 72-75; the same in IAE., Vol. X, 1897, page 109.)

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[825]
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numerous observations made on the spot, as well as information received from Buka and Bougainville Islanders who were under my

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supervision as plantation workers. The information of younger workers has constantly been compared with the statements of older ones, as well as with the results of my own on-the-spot observations. Any divergences in these statements or from my own observations I have always been able to explain by the fact that slight differences appear in various districts. In my homeland I never caught my sources of information telling a real lie; on the contrary, they frequently rectified my own observations in cases where I had gotten on the wrong track as a result of insufficient linguistic knowledge and incomplete observation. 124

[2] My remarks relate primarily to the coastal inhabitants. Despite various attempts I have never reached the true interior of Bougainville. But I recently succeeded in bringing a few highly alert young men of the interior to Ralum. I found out many things from them, mainly information that confirmed what the coastal inhabitants had already told me. These people, however, live in the Emperor Range in the northern half of Bougainville and differ essentially from the inhabitants of the Crown Prince Range; up until now we know nothing reliable about the latter. What I have heard about them is so contradictory and sometimes even so fantastic that I am unable to base any reliable statements upon it. Up until now I have not been able to obtain workers from the southern interior of Bougainville; the few individuals whom I had a chance to observe were allegedly prisoners of war from the interior and differed distinctly from the coastal inhabitants, but I was able to find out practically nothing from them. For the time being therefore I place no credence in the statement frequently made by the coast inhabitants that a tribe of pygmies is supposed to live in the interior. Granted, the inland inhabitants whom I have seen from that region are strikingly small, but to conclude from this that there is a whole tribe of pygmies seems to me too bold--all the more so since I know from long experience that the coastal inhabitants are inclined to ascribe all sorts of fabulous characteristics to the inhabitants of the interior whenever their own knowledge is not complete. The pygmies in the interior of South Bougainville, therefore, probably came from the same source as the men with tails in the interior of the Gazelle Peninsula. 124

In view of the narrow width of the island (never more than 35 nautical miles) one might be inclined to assume that the coastal population and the inland population are not essentially different. My

observations, however, place it beyond any doubt that a difference 184
 really exists and that it is not only an ethnographic one, but possibly
 also anthropological.¹ The inland inhabitants are shorter and thinner 184
 than the coastal inhabitants; their arms and legs are less muscular; 192
 the upper part of the body is more highly developed in comparison
 with the lower extremities (especially lengthwise); and their skin
 color is always completely black. I scarcely need to mention the [17]
 fact that the language is different. On the other hand it is extremely 437
 interesting that the weapons of the coastal inhabitants are produced
 almost exclusively by the inlanders and are obtained from them by
 way of trade. (1) This is all the more astonishing since the material

1. The tribes of the interior, who live in 184
 the ravines and on the declivities of the 484
 steep mountains, seem to have only slight
 intercourse with one another; in any case
 none exists between the mountain inhabit-
 ants of the northern half of the island and
 those of the southern half. The northern
 Emperor Range is completely cut off from
 the southern Crown Prince Range by a deep
 depression which, according to statements
 of the natives, is only slightly above sea
 level at Empress Augusta Bay; as a matter
 of fact, from the east as well as the west
 wide swampy plains extend far inland. There
 is a much more active intercourse among
 the various coastal inhabitants. From Buka
 and the north coast of Bougainville boats go
 to Cap le Cras on the east coast and to
 Empress Augusta Bay on the west coast and
 sometimes even farther. From the Shortland
 Islands in the Bougainville Strait and from
 Mono Island, which lies farther southwest,
 extended journeys are made to the north;
 the deceased chieftains Gorai from Shortland
 and Mule from Mono had undertaken trips to
 Buka on various occasions and knew not only

¹ [i.e. physical Anthropological. - Analyst]

the names of the various small islands at the northwest corner of Bougainville, but also the names of the local chieftains. In Empress Augusta Bay I found people from Mono and Shortland who had settled there; in the village of Nomanoma on the east coast I met a native I knew from Buka who had married a Nomanoma woman and as a result had settled there. Gorai in Shortland told me that his father, a native of Mono, had subjugated and exterminated the original local population with the aid of his people; he claimed that the present-day inhabitants of the Shortland Islands comprised recent settlers from all the surrounding islands. Among Gorai's numerous wives many came from Bougainville, some from Mono, and others from Choiseul. From all of this it becomes apparent that the coastal population, for generations, has frequently shifted and been moved about, whereas the inland population in its inaccessible mountain position was, to be sure, exposed to the attacks of the coastal inhabitants (of whom certain individuals were occasionally led into captivity as slaves), yet preserved its character in a purer and more pristine condition than the coastal inhabitants, who have been exposed to so many influences.

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for their manufacture is also present in the coastal regions and since, as a matter of fact, the inlanders can obtain many things that they use for making them only by bartering with the coastal peoples. I can explain this circumstance only in this way: the coastal inhabitants were later intruders from other Melanesian Islands who were not familiar with these weapons. Comprehending their great advantages, they took over their use and procured them from the original inhabitants. We find bows, arrows, and spears as instruments of war in Buka and Bougainville, on the islands in the Bougainville [3] Strait and on Mono.

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On the islands situated to the southeast bows and arrows are less important as instruments of war; there we find artistically woven shields and carefully wrought clubs (which recently have been displaced to a great extent by longhandled iron axes), whereas shields are completely absent in Bougainville and on the neighboring islands and clubs play a very minor rôle. The excellent arms of the northwestern Solomon Islanders have protected them for generations against the attacks of the headhunters from Vella Lavella and New Georgia. The latter have always ravaged the islands of Choiseul and Ysabel, but greatly feared the noiseless arrows of our region, which struck their mark from the distance so surely and effectively. And although in recent times the headhunters, especially from Australia, are well provided with firearms despite all prohibitions, they still do not dare to extend their raids farther than northern Choiseul. I have unfortunately frequently had the opportunity to find out personally how unprotected one feels against the silently flying arrows even if one is equipped with the best firearms.

Although my observations are incomplete and ineffective with regard to the interior tribes, I still felt that I was justified in publishing them: in part to supplement the observations of earlier writings about the Solomon Islands; and in part to arouse interest once again in these islands which are highly remarkable in every respect. The New Guinea Company in Berlin, which, by virtue of a royal letter of safe-conduct, is the actual ruler of this unknown region, unfortunately is not following the footsteps of the old Hamburg firm of Johann Casar Godeffroy, to which scholarship is indebted for extensive information about a great part of the South Seas. As a result of contact with the whites, which increases from year to year, many characteristic features are slowly beginning to disappear even on the northwestern Solomon Islands. Stone axes, for example, are no longer in actual use along the coast of Bougainville; they have been completely displaced by axes and knives of iron. Even among the inland tribes the new implements have replaced the old ones, though only quite recently. Only in the interior can one still occasionally obtain stone axes with the original handle, but on the coast the old implements must first be sought out laboriously from rubbish heaps, and even older people no longer know how to make the original binding. On the spears that formerly were prepared with the most minute care one now frequently finds strips of gaudy cotton material that are supposed to replace the former fine weaving. In the boats they now make use of sails (of white or bright-colored cotton material), which formerly were never used, since the boats were propelled exclusively by oars. Settlements and plantations

of white colonists do not exist in Bougainville even today, but since the island affords great stretches of the finest soil, and in addition favorable sites for anchoring and landing, the time is certainly not far off when tropical agriculture in modern form will enter there, too, and then even the last vestiges of traditional culture will come to a rapid end as has been the case everywhere else in the South Sea Islands.

Stanley entitled his travel book about Africa Through the Dark Continent, but a depiction of Bougainville that is exhaustive in every respect could justifiably bear the title: "From the Darkest Part of a Dark Island World."

[4]

Character of the People

Older reports as a rule give an incorrect portrayal of the character of the islanders; there was a general tendency to consider them among the wildest of the South Sea inhabitants. It must be conceded that on first acquaintance they do not inspire much confidence; the naked almost black figures with their sparkling eyes, lively gesticulation, and the excellent arms they always have at hand on land as well as at sea, necessarily arouse distrust -- all the more so since their former numerous warlike encounters with the whites and their reputation of being vicious cannibals seem to confirm the preconceived notion.

I will say no more about conflicts with the whites. In most cases the natives were acting defensively, and wherever a real attack upon white men can be proved, the reason must frequently enough be regarded as an act of vengeance for some preceding injustice. Indeed it cannot be denied that there are among the islanders also bad individuals who, for the sake of profit and in order to acquire the valuable goods of the whites more easily, do not hesitate to apply force; but cases of this sort occur everywhere in the world.

As workers and servants the islanders are loyal and reliable; they are not particularly intelligent and at the beginning of their service require much training before they comprehend what they have to do, but once they have comprehended this, then one can rely on them to do their duty without constant supervision. At home they do not work excessively hard, for they have no nose for profit or accumulating material possessions; however, they always have sufficient food and keep their plantations in good order; they see to it that they have good dwellings and take great pains in the construction of their boats,

both large and small. On the whole they treat their women well and share with them the labors of field work. I could cite a great number of examples proving that they do not always kill everyone who lands on their island voluntarily or involuntarily. On the east side of the islands it frequently happens that people from Ongtang Java, from the Gilbert Islands or from other groups situated to the east are blown off their course and land there; many of these are traded off for a small present to ships that occasionally pass by and others establish a new home there. In the year 1896, on the west coast, I met nine natives from the Trobriand Group (on the coast of New Guinea). They had been driven in their boat all the way to the little island of Saposá on the northwest end of Bougainville and had been individually adopted into the families; they were getting along so well that I succeeded only after long debate in persuading them to come on board so as to be sent to their homeland. In 1885 an American had settled with some other whites on an island in the King Albert Strait between Buka and Bougainville. The man appears to have been an unbearable fellow; several of his comrades left him in a boat and, after a long journey, landed on the island of Nusa at the north end of New Mecklenburg; only one endured it for some time, but then also left him with the aid of the natives; the latter at first kept him for a time in Hanahan on the east coast of northern Buka and then brought him overland to Carola Harbor. From there he got to New Pomerania [New Britain] with a ship that had docked there. The man asserted that during his almost three month long stay among the natives he had always been treated in a friendly and hospitable manner and never had the feeling that he was in a particularly dangerous situation. The old chieftain Gorai in the Shortland Group saved many a white from death. When at the beginning of the eighties a German schooner from Apia (Samoa) was stranded on a neighboring island and Gorai found out that the white crew was in great danger, he assembled his people, manned a number of his large boats, and went to aid the endangered whites. For a long time afterwards they were his guests until they had the opportunity to get to Mioko in the Bismarck Archipelago. On another occasion a merchant schooner from Australia had struck a coral reef in the Shortland Islands. Gorai was away, and some less favorably disposed islanders planned to kill the crew of the ship and steal the cargo. But Gorai came home

unexpectedly and immediately went on board, where his people proposed 19/
the plan to him. In his laconic manner he answered: "Good! Do what 643
you want to, but I am on the side of the white men." Obviously the hostile
venture did not come to pass, and with the aid of Goral and the islanders
who had recently been so hostilely disposed, they succeeded [5] in setting
their schooner afloat again. A favorite expression of the old man was: "To
be sure, I have a black skin, but my heart is white." When he died in 1894 [547
one of his last commands was that no slaves be killed after his death--a cus- 74]
tom that even today is still practiced in Bougainville and on the Shortland
Islands upon the death of a chieftain. A few years ago I was lying at anchor
in the little Baniu Bay on the north coast of Bougainville. A great part of
the coastal people was absent, as I found out, on a war expedition against
the mountain people. On the following morning the whole group, about
fifty men, came back and brought along as a prisoner of war a man who was
carrying a child about a year old in his arms. Upon interrogation it turned
out that, farther inland, they had surprised a number of natives who were
quietly working on a plantation; men as well as women had hastily taken
flight, and they had not succeeded in taking any prisoners. Since, however,
the inland villages had now been alarmed, they gave up their war expedition
and retreated to the previously mentioned plantation to pass the night there.
During the night they had heard a slight noise and, suspecting an attack by
the mountain people, had carefully kept watch; they saw a single man who
walked forward, looking around cautiously, until, having reached a banana
tree, he picked up a child and then just as cautiously started out on his way
back. He and the child had then been silently surrounded and captured. The
child had been forgotten by its mother during the hasty flight. When it was
finally missed, the father had returned, despite the risks connected with it,
to seek and save his offspring in the hiding place known to him; he was more
than a little surprised when I bought him free with a few articles and he was
told he could return home safely--which he hastily did.

These examples, I believe, suffice to demonstrate that despite cannibalism 181
and other not particularly gentle customs and practices, the northern [266]
Solomon Islanders on the whole are not so cruel and wild as they have been
otherwise described. They contrast very favorably in comparison with the
inhabitants of the other islands of the archipelago, especially with the
notorious headhunters of Vella Lavella and New Georgia. To be sure, feuds 171
of greater and lesser duration are not infrequent among neighboring tribes, 627.
especially between the coast inhabitants and the mountain dwellers, but on
the other South Sea Islands quite similar conditions prevail and it occurs to

no one to regard their people as exceedingly cruel for this reason. The Christian Samoans have been waging war among themselves almost continually for years, and even if they do not eat their prisoners of war, they do cut off their heads; despite this they have the reputation of being a kind and good-natured people. When our German government acquired colonies in the Western Pacific, it was certainly an extremely good move to include the northwestern Solomon Islands in the realm of the new colony. Specifically the natives of these islands have, up until now, turned out well as members of the small defensive army in the Bismarck Archipelago. Just as they have proven themselves loyal and reliable as plantation workers, they have also often won the praise of their leaders on the frequently very laborious and dangerous expeditions against natives in the archipelago. 171 627 648

Tribal Government

As is the case everywhere in the Solomon Islands, the honor of being chieftain is hereditary. The oldest son is not always his father's successor; if the father has several sons, he names one as his heir, as a rule to be sure, the eldest. 622

Every village has its own chieftain who, strictly speaking, rules his own little realm himself; however, weaker chieftains frequently ally themselves with neighboring chieftains in an offensive and defensive alliance against neighboring enemies. Chieftains who have at their command a large number of warriors not infrequently compel weaker neighboring chieftains into a sort of vassalage, but the weaker one's duties seem to consist solely in accompanying the stronger one on war expeditions and supporting him with his men; in return he can always count on the protection of the stronger chieftain. The deceased Gorai in Shortland had established such an extended vassalage, which comprised the southern half of Bougainville, all the islands of the Bougainville Strait, and the north end of Choiseul. He was looked upon as the reigning chieftain, and no one dared to undertake anything against his will. After Gorai's death this league disintegrated, and since the deceased was a prudent man and very favorably disposed towards the whites, the peaceful conditions created by him are in danger of gradual collapse. On Buka the tribes around Carola Harbor and the opposite east coast of Hanahan are allied against those on the island's north cape and on the mountainous south end of Zoloss. In Bougainville exactly the same sort 627

of alliances may be found. At present, the allies are almost always in a state of feud with neighboring allies. As a result there is a continual preparedness for war. While working on the plantations, fishing along the coast, etc., bow and arrow are always kept at hand, for an attack can always be expected. Longer and shorter intervals between these feuds occur, of course, but not as the result of a mutual agreement, but as a consequence of unfavorable weather conditions or major losses of men in one party or the other. When disputes arise between allies within these leagues, these too can lead to a temporary feud, but after a certain time peace is negotiated by intermediaries--as a rule by payment.

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Social Groups, Marriage Customs, Position of Women

In Buka the whole population is divided into two large groups that have as their symbols the chicken and the frigate bird and are named accordingly Kéreu and Mānu, after the two birds. If a man is a Kéreu, then he must marry a Mānu, and vice versa; if he is a Mānu he must marry a Kéreu. The children always inherit the symbol of the mother. In northern Bougainville the same two birds serve as clan symbols: the chicken, Atōa, and the frigate bird, Manō; the situation here is very much like that on Buka. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait very similar conditions exist, but with the difference that a greater number of birds serve as symbols. Also members having the same symbol are not named after the relevant bird but bear their own clan name. The members of the clan who have as their sign the dove (baōlo) are called Baumane; those that have the Buceros (popo) are called Sfmāa; those that have the cockatoo (āna) are called Bānahu; those that have the frigate bird (mānu) are called Talapui; those that have the tigenou are called Hanapare; those who have the kāpi: Talasaggi; those that have tālle: Habubōsu. Members of one clan always marry members of another, but here too it is the established rule that the children belong to the clan of the mother.

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There is no externally visible clan symbol; everyone seems to know the symbol of the others. Natives of the same clan symbol consider themselves close relatives; if, for example, a Kéreu or a Sfmāa comes to another village, he is received hospitably by the local Kéreu or Sfmāa and given room and board. Clan symbols from the rest of

the animal world do not exist: they are taken solely from the bird world.

Since children inherit their mother's clan symbol, it follows that, if they are girls, they belong to a clan whose members the father can marry and can theoretically be married by him. In practice we find this in Buka and northern Bougainville; there it is not rare that the father is married to his own daughter and has children by her. This is not regarded as forbidden; but a union of two people who have the same clan symbol is considered a crime. In southern Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the very same view prevails, but its practice is not so general as in the north. A similar arrangement probably also exists in the other Solomon Islands. I conclude this from a statement of Woodford in his book Among the head-hunters, p. 40 ff. It says there: "It came to my knowledge that an extensive and wide-spread system of 'castes' or totems exists upon this and some of the adjacent islands. The name of them on Guadalcanar and upon Gela or Florida is Kema, upon Savo Ravu. At Veisali, at the west end of Guadalcanar, the word used is Kua The natives told me that man might not marry a woman belonging to his own caste [7] Of these castes the largest and most powerful is the Gambata." He then also mentions the castes Kiki, Lakoli, Kakau, and Tanakindi.

The native acquires wives in various ways. In part he steals them from a neighboring tribe and marries them if the clan symbol allows it; if not, he sells the stolen woman to a native whose symbol allows him to marry her. In by far the most cases, however, he barter for his wife. As medium of exchange he makes use of the current money varieties. In Buka a wife costs from four to six fathoms of white shell money (héruanne) or two to four lengths of tooth money (baifu and raki). On the islands of the Bougainville Strait a wife costs from five to ten fathoms of white shell money (pālassale) or one to two fathoms of red shell money (mismis). On the mainland of south Bougainville the same two types of money are used as media of exchange, but in addition one called mānei, which is made on Shortland and serves especially for the trade dealings of the islanders with the mountain people. The latter uses as a medium of exchange exclusively the mānei imported from the Shortland Islands; they call it aputa. This money has substantially less value; one needs twenty to thirty fathoms

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in order to acquire a wife. Abducted wives are married only in Buka and north Bougainville, but not in the southern regions of the island; it seems that all prisoners are killed there. 436 583 171

At a normal wedding, as far as I could ascertain, there are no further ceremonies. When the purchase is concluded, the man takes the bought woman home with him, and the wife's relatives give a present consisting of cooked food. After about a week the purchaser and his relatives reciprocate. At special weddings, however, certain festivities take place. In European museums one rather frequently finds objects from Buka and north Bougainville that are commonly called "dance clubs." Some of these are illustrated for example in Edge-Partington, Volume I, pages 244 and 245 (with the incorrect heading: "New Britain Archipelago"); Volume II, page 125 (the note to 3 is based on an error). Furthermore, in Schmeltz and Krause, Catalogue of the Museum of Godeffroy, Plate VI, Figures 3 and 3a. Also the dance club from Treasury Island that is depicted in Guppy's work unquestionably diffused from the north. These dance clubs are correctly named, but they are used only for specific ceremonies. If a chieftain gives his daughter to a native in marriage, great festivities are arranged. The participants fashion clubs of this sort, which are called kaisa and vary greatly according to the taste and the skill of the maker. Most frequently the flat clubs have a broad blade that is painted black, white and red, and are ornamented with the characteristic grotesque human figure or only with its head at the upper end. Other dance clubs are shaped like a lancet, in imitation of war clubs, and have triangular or diamond shaped figures that are painted red, white or black on a black or white background. As a rule they are all made of soft wood that is easy to work, but now and then you find them made out of palm wood or some other heavy hardwood. The wedding guests hold the clubs in their hands; groups of dancers surround the couple, sometimes both, sometimes just one of them, and the clubs are alternately held up in the air or stuck in the ground in a circle around the central figure. After a number of different figures have been executed, they throw away the kaisa, or the boys and youths pick them up and sell them to passing ships for a song. For this reason one can occasionally get hold of hundreds of these dance objects in that region without difficulty, whereas at other times it is impossible to acquire even a single one despite the most tempting offer. 585

When a woman's husband dies in Buka and north Bougainville, she returns to her parents, if they are still alive, or to her closest relatives; 768

the children accompany the mother. In south Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait the wife of the deceased remains in the community; frequently the dead man's brother marries the widow; but if he is not so inclined or is already sufficiently provided with wives, the widow can marry another native if he pays the dead man's brother the customary purchase price.

[8] The chieftains normally have several wives; the number varies from five to fifty and even more. The common people have one, two or three wives, but rarely more. Male slaves may not marry.

The women are treated relatively well; to be sure, they have to do a great part of the field work, but they are not slaves to the same extent as on the other Solomon Islands. Also their morality is on a far higher plane than elsewhere in the group. Promiscuous intercourse among unwedded people does not take place to the extent that it does, for example, on St. Christoval and on Guadalcanar; strict propriety is insisted upon in marriage. The wives frequently have a decisive influence on the conduct of their husbands, and I have often had occasion to observe that once you are on good terms with the wives, the husbands regulate their behavior accordingly. Gifts distributed to a few old women often have better success than all arts of persuasion. The chieftain's wives have an even better life; many of them do nothing at all; they keep their husband and company when he is at home and do various kinds of handwork. Some see to it that the plantations always supply the requisite amount of foodstuffs, but only when the husband condescends to work in the plantation with his own hands do all of his better halves accompany him. When he goes on war expeditions the whole group stays at home under the surveillance of a few of the older men who are unfit for battle. One of the chieftain's wives is designated as chief wife, and her male children are the actual heirs of the chieftain. When individual communities live on islands too small to support plantations and produce the needed amount of food, it is the wives' job to keep up market trade with the wealthier neighboring districts. Early in the morning you can see them going to the market in large and small boats, usually accompanied by an older man who probably has the duty of supervisor, since a single old man is scarcely able to provide any sort of effective protection in case of an enemy attack.

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Birth and Children

In Buka and north Bougainville, as far as I could ascertain, there are no special ceremonies when a child is born. In south Bougainville a great feast (called marromarro) is prepared during pregnancy by the women of the community whereby numerous dishes play an important rôle. This feast is celebrated outside of the village; the husbands are not allowed to be present, but the women are kind enough to send them an abundant portion of the delicacies they serve; cuscus (a phalanger) roast is especially preferred on these occasions. If a son is born to a chieftain, this is the occasion for special celebrations. Neither the infant nor the mother is permitted to leave the hut until the child is 1 1/2 to 2 years old. Then great amounts of food are prepared, and on a certain day a great feast takes place accompanied by dancing and singing. On this occasion the son and mother come out into the light of day and are admired and marveled at. In Buka and north Bougainville a similar ceremony takes place, but only when the boy is 7 to 8 years old. He is not kept inside until the time of this festivity, but can move about as he pleases within and outside the hut. The feast consists of a colossal meal, and a special dance (called hesinna) is connected with it. Also a special song is rendered by the dancers that begins with the words: lili a manu etc. (for the song as well as the music cf. the relevant chapter). The singers and dancers form a broad circle, and each one holds in his hand an approximately 1 1/2 meter long bamboo cane, the lower end of which is closed by one of the natural segments of the reed. In tempo with the melody they move in a circle and at the same time strike the bamboo cane (called zekull) on the ground, producing a hollow roaring sound.

Infanticide and abortion -- horrible practices that are still quite widespread even today on the Solomon Islands situated farther to the southeast -- do not occur here so extensively. [9] A proof of this is the great number of children that one encounters everywhere in the villages in Buka and Bougainville. When more peaceful conditions finally come about, this population will surely increase rapidly. As the situation stands today, the numerous feuds and, connected with them, the unstable life in the open, are not factors that contribute to population increase.

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Burial Practices

Obviously, a person's death also gives rise to many festivities and ceremonies. In Buka and north Bougainville only two methods of burial are known: namely, ahārre kuerre or submerging the corpse at sea; and ha zērokere de akui or burying the corpse. During the burial a great meal (a kānano a kapane) is provided by the survivors. The dance that is performed afterwards is called a kūmar. These festivities in honor of the deceased are repeated from time to time. During the ceremony men and women paint themselves white. -- In south Bougainville in Shortland the method is similar, but here cremation is also known, which is called hanghāli in Shortland and kasivei in Bougainville. Cremation of the body is a mark of the aristocrat and probably a custom imported from the south. Less exalted people are buried (mōā kōsisai in Bougainville and nahonaha in Shortland) or submerged in the ocean (fanfāntup in Shortland and on the coast). No matter what sort of burial, great banquets are the rule at all of them; naturally the cremation of the aristocrats is carried out on a magnificent scale. The funeral pyre is erected in the village itself, usually rectangular and flanked at each corner by a high pole. This pole is frequently carved roughly in the shape of a human face at the upper end and painted black or red; but I also saw very simple poles with no painting or carving; the latter as well as the former were called kakalo. After the corpse is placed on the pyre, the pyre is lighted to the accompaniment of loud lamenting and howling. The burning never suffices to transform the body completely into ashes; the bone remains are carefully collected by the family and kept for several days in the hut of the deceased; during this period the lament rarely ceases, and it is especially the wives who develop a particular virtuosity in this respect. After this period the actual burial of the remains takes place. In the place where the corpse was burned, between the four kakalo, a pit is dug and an earthen jug is deposited in it; the remains of the corpse are placed in this jug and a second jug is inverted over it, serving as a lid for the first; then the pit is filled up with dirt. This procedure is called irināfui in Shortland and nōmokai in Bougainville. Simultaneously most of the relatives put on a big banquet (funfapasa in Shortland and kāpa mfnava in Bougainville), whereby everything edible is served, with the exception of taro, which is forbidden on this occasion. The women put on mourning as before by covering their faces and the upper

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chest with a heavy layer of white paint. This material is a kind of soil that is found in certain areas of Bougainville and called mā (māso in Shortland); this soil, kept wrapped in leaves, until needed, is then pulverized and mixed with the juice of sugar cane so that a rather thick dough is formed. The men do not paint themselves. After a few months another great banquet (mōu in Bougainville and Isāisa kavunoi in Shortland) is given in memory of the deceased; after this the women remove their white mourning paint, and thereby bring the whole death ceremony to an end. In some places the place of burial is fenced in with four boards that form an oblong rectangle and in part are carved and painted. Within this fence (called brotoko) all sorts of effects of the deceased are placed: strings of beads, bracelets and similar objects; also bright-flowering ornamental shrubs and flowers are planted on the spot.

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Cremation is to be found on the east coast of Bougainville all the way up to the village of Toboroi; the practice does not seem to exist beyond that point; on the west side I found this custom in Siuai, but likewise no farther north than there.

Formerly it was the rule that a slave was killed at the death of an aristocrat. The custom may have declined somewhat in most recent times, but even today it is still [10] practiced in regions where the natives are not strongly influenced by the whites. I conclude this from the fact that, after I had sought enlightenment on this point from various people and had always received a negative answer, a boy of twelve gave me the desired information. He seemed to see nothing wrong in it and hence found no reason to keep it a secret. Even the older ones ceased to deny it when they saw that I knew about this custom. Normally only one slave is killed; the corpse is not eaten, but remains lying in the same spot until some friends bury it; if this does not happen, then it simply lies there until dogs, boars and decomposition have done their work.

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Masks, Mask Customs and Related Matters

In Bougainville as well as in Buka and on the Nissan Group masks are used for certain festivities. The few masks that I got to see in Bougainville consisted of bent wooden boards that were painted black, and a protruding nose was carved on them; there were apertures for

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mouth and eyes; on the black background of the masks red and white lines and figures were drawn, which imitated the decoration customary at the dances. No particular reverence seemed to be shown to these masks; boys and youths used them for all sorts of pranks, even in the presence of women, and seemed to take particular delight in frightening the women with them. On the Nisan Group the masks are made far more carefully. A frame of bamboo strips that covers the whole head is covered with bast. On this an artificial face is painted with the pulverized nut of parinarium laurinum; an artificial wig of moss or plant fibers is attached to it; the ears are indicated by carved pieces of wood that project. This is one sort of mask that is common there; another sort represents a face carved out of wood, on whose black background the customary artistic facial scarification is carefully imitated with white and red lines; the wigs of these masks are made of human hair and show the coiffure that is customary in that region. A peculiar shirtlike garment with sleeves of fiber material dyed brown goes with the masks. It is draped over the body and reaches to the heels.

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On a voyage to the northern Solomon Islands in October 1897 I found out that the Nisan masks are also in use on the island of Buka, although the form deviates somewhat. After a long questioning I succeeded in obtaining some information about them, but nobody seemed to be inclined to explain exhaustively; the whole matter was treated only with great hesitancy. It was not until I reached Ralum that I succeeded in piecing together the fragments by questioning individual Buka Islanders. They, too, spoke only when I questioned them individually. When several of them were together, they pretended that they knew nothing about the matter. I soon found out that these matters are kept so strictly secret at home that there a betrayal of the secrecy involves a death sentence. Nevertheless I believe that the following portrayal comes very close to the truth.

From time to time the men betake themselves at a prearranged time to a remote spot in the forest, where they clear a little place of bushes and underbrush and erect small huts. This place is called tālohu and the women are strictly forbidden to enter it. In the tālohu they now prepare masks very similar to the above-described ones from Nisan; when they are through, they make of tree bast the previously described shirtlike garment and the garb is then complete. During

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the preparations boys and youths must bring food to the tālohu and in part prepare it there also. For recreation they dance and sing. This mummery is used solely as a means for extorting all sorts of goods. Namely, the women are told that the spirit Kokorra is concealed in the garb; when they perceive this so-called "spirit," they hastily throw away anything that they happen to be carrying at the moment and run away as fast as possible. Naturally the men pick up the things that have been thrown away and regard them as their own. This activity is continued for a few weeks, during which time the men stay at the tālohu, where, according to the women's opinion, they are serving the spirit Kokorra. 796

[11] In north Bougainville we find a very similar institution which is apparently an extension and perfection of the one just described. In Bougainville the practice is called rukruk, and sometimes also burri. The procedure is this: every now and then the older men select from friendly neighboring families a boy or youth who has not yet participated in rukruk. Chieftains generally choose more than one youth, but the number of the chosen rarely exceeds four. It is a particular honor to be chosen by a chieftain. After their election the chosen ones are called Matasesén, and, as such, they belong during the time of rukruk to the electors, who are called their Marau. The Marau leads his Matasesén to a remote spot in the woods where a spacious hut has been erected, which is called āhbassa; the place itself is the āhbassa burri. In the hut, which also serves the Marau and the Matasesén as a dormitory, are kept the balloon-shaped hats with which the Matasesén are outfitted. These hats, called hasebōu, are made by certain old men, and for each hasebōu the Marau pays the maker a string of biruan, [see p. 58 ed.] spears, bows and arrows, etc. The Matasesén must now remain at the āhbassa burri until their hair grows so long that they can force it into the hasebōu and thus keep it on their heads. (1) As soon as this happens, the Matasesén can leave the place [346]

1. Meyer and Parkinson, Papuatypen,
Plate 31, shows a group of Matasesén. [293]

and visit their relatives and villages; but they may never show themselves to women without the hat and must always return to the āhbassa in the evening. If they want to bathe, then they do this at night on the shore or in the daytime at remote spots in the mountain rivers. During the whole time the Matasesén work for their Marau; they lay

out great plantations for them, are kept under rather strict control, and⁷⁹⁶ if there is a shortage of food, the relatives must send the necessary things and put them down outside the high fence of the ahbassa burri. If any women should enter the ahbassa burri--which by the way never happens--then they would be killed; they are also killed if they accidentally catch sight of a Matasesén without his hassebou and are caught in the act. Such cases are reputedly not extremely rare. Thus it is understandable that the women stay as far away as possible from the place of residence of the Matasesén and their plantations. The women are told that at the ahbassa burri the Matasesén commune with spirits that are called Ruk. There are two different spirits: a male one, Ruk a tzon: and a female one, called Ruk a tahol. These spirits produce a noise that is so terrible and frightening to the ears of the women that they throw away their possessions and hastily run away. It is self-evident that the Marau and the Matasesén appropriate that which has been thrown away. The noise that sounds so terrible is actually harmless^[534] enough, for the instrument that produces it is a whirring rod that is swung with great rapidity overhead on a thin cord. Obviously this whirring rod is a secret that remains strictly concealed from the women. A visitor never gets to see one. On a short jaunt in Bougainville with some friendly coastal acquaintances it happened a few years ago that I caught up in the forest with a number of Matasesén who were returning from their plantation work. All of them were armed as usual with spears, bows and arrows, but one of them had in his hand a piece of wood whose use was unknown to me and which attracted my attention. But when I stepped up to the youth, he hid the instrument behind his back, and there arose a lively dispute among the companions as well as among my comrades. As a result the young man in question hastily slipped into the bushes and disappeared from my sight. At that time the incident was completely incomprehensible to me; despite all inquiries I could not find out the reason for this sudden disappearance and only years later did it occur to me that the harmless whirring rod had been the cause.

When the hair finally completely fills the hassebou, a great festivity is held within the ahbassa burri, to which also the fathers and male relatives of the Matasesén are granted admittance. This festival lasts several days, and dancing and singing alternate with banquets; the men prepare every single dish. The women are strictly forbidden to approach the festival place, and the spirit voices of Ruk keep them at

a respectful distance. After the feast has ended the parents of the Matasesén give the Marau presents consisting of two or three strings of biruan, spears, bows, arrows and other effects. At the festival place the hassebou are [12] taken off the youths and burned, and there likewise the long locks of the Matasesén are cut off, but then tied up in leaves in a bundle and kept in their huts. As a rule one long lock is left on the nape, which is decorated at the end with beads or a shell. After the haircutting the Marau take their Matasesén back into their home villages, and this in turn is again the occasion for further festivities. When they come back a tall post or mast is erected on an open spot in the village; this mast, which is decorated with foliage and painted, is climbed by a Marau. From the top he calls the Matasesén by the names by which they are to be known in the future; the old name is forgotten. This mast is called kukun a solo; after the name giving it is removed, chopped up, and burned. After the rukruk festivity has been completed, the Matasesén can choose a wife. They are considered adults and take part in all festivities of the men. A comparison of the rukruk of the Solomon Islanders with the dukduk of the Gazelle Peninsula forces itself spontaneously upon one. It is not only the name that leads to such a comparison. In the dukduk a special festival place, the tareiu, is set aside for the participants, as in the rukruk the tálohu--two words which, in view of the otherwise very different languages, have the greatest similarity. The exclusion of women from all festivities at the festival place is common to both and likewise the pretense that the participants commune with spirits at the festival place. The female spirit Ruk a tzon [sic] corresponds to Tubuvan of dukduk, who is conceived as female; the male spirit Ruk a tahol corresponds to the male dukduk. The frightening of women -- in Bougainville by the Matasesén and in Buka by the Kokorra--and the appropriation of the objects thrown away by the frightened women is the same in both places, and likewise the slaying of women if they accidentally discover any of the secrets of rukruk and dukduk. The burning of the hassebou and the burning of the garments and masks used in dukduk is a further common characteristic. If we were better acquainted with rukruk, then far more similarities could probably be found. It is easily comprehensible that different characteristics developed in the course of time among the two tribes as a result of their isolation from each other. The inhabitants of the Gazelle Peninsula, who to a far greater extent than the Solomon Islanders have the need

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to accumulate and acquire shell money, found in dukduk an appropriate means of satisfying their greed in the most lucrative way. If the whirring rod is not known on the Gazelle Peninsula, this speaks for the fact that the people who introduced the practice there were acquainted, to be sure, with many details of the custom and specifically with those which were relatively easy to find out; but the true secret--the voices of the spirits, which is so carefully concealed during rukruk that in that region you never see a whirring rod--remained hidden from them. A direct transplantation of rukruk from Bougainville and Buka all the way to the Peninsula is scarcely conceivable although these islands are separated only by about 130 nautical miles of ocean. It is far more probable that it spread indirectly on the previously mentioned path by way of Nissan to Wonneran and from there to South New Mecklenburg and New Lauenburg. On the way, then, reminiscences from northwest New Mecklenburg attached themselves to the tradition brought from the Solomon Islands, especially the masking of the face. It is also not impossible that this masking, which is completely absent in Bougainville, is a modification introduced from New Mecklenburg via Wonneram to Nissan and Buka. Unfortunately the dukduk customs existing in southern New Mecklenburg (which deviate from those of the Gazelle Peninsula) are not known; it is very probable that if we get to know them someday, the origins in Bougainville can be proven with far more certainty. Quite recently I have been informed of a peculiar headdress from the mountains that form the western edge of the Gazelle Peninsula. The population there, called "Beining" by the rest of the Gazelle Peninsula, differs completely in speech and in customs and practices from the other inhabitants of the peninsula; they are just as different from the inhabitants of the part of New Pomerania situated farther west. This peculiar headdress that is worn by the male natives for certain dances and reaches an enormous height--up to ten meters--has much in common with the headcoverings of dukduk; it is not improbable that the dukduk people have also adopted from these neighbors this or that characteristic and modified it in their own way.

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Anthropophagy

Cannibalism is not so widespread as is generally assumed. On the Shortland Islands in any case this custom has now been given up completely and no cases have been reported to me from the interior of southern Bougainville. On their war expeditions the Shortland Islanders kill everything that falls into their hands; only rarely are slaves taken. In the mountain villages of south Bougainville the slain enemies are carried to the settlement and hung up for several days in the vicinity of the taboo house. Then they take down the bodies, remove and wash the head, and then store the skull in the taboo house; the body is buried. The skulls one sees in these houses are accordingly not the skulls of relatives, but war trophies; skulls of the deceased are never kept. If you draw a line diagonally across Bougainville--say, from Empress Augusta Bay on the west coast to the deep bay that lies opposite it on the east side--then this forms approximately the border of cannibalism. North of this line signs of it are all too clear, even if the inhabitants of this area were to deny the practice, and they do not think that even this is necessary. No village is without human bones and smashed skulls, and no house lacks the jawbones of the consumed people. In south Bougainville and on the islands of the Bougainville Strait on the other hand I have never been able to find a skull or jawbone despite the most diligent search. This is all the more peculiar since, on Choiseul and the other islands situated to the southeast, cannibalism is in full sway even today. I am inclined to assume that one must ascribe it to the great influence of the deceased Gorai on Shortland that the otherwise generally common practice has become extinct there today. Years ago, coming from Buka, I had on board a number of skulls that I showed to old Gorai; I remember very distinctly with what revulsion he regarded the skulls, and he could not be persuaded to touch them. At that time I thought it only hypocrisy, but after many visits and after the most intensive investigations I have come to the conclusion that, if cannibalism ever prevailed in that particular region, the practice has disappeared today.

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In Buka and north Bougainville, as has been stated, no secret is made of the fact that cannibalism still goes on. Years ago on a tour through Buka I spent the night in a hut in Hanahan on the

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northeast coast. I still recall my horror in the morning, when I perceived at my head a long row of human jawbones, and among them a few that had not yet served a very long time as souvenirs. Chieftain Zikan showed me with the greatest obligingness the place at the entrance to Carola Harbor where he and his men ate dead enemies, and numerous bones and skull fragments bore witness to the fact that these festivities were not rare. The above place is the source of a skull that is still in my possession and which had still been the head of a living person not long before I received it as a gift from the chieftain. They told me the name of the owner, and a few days later on the coast of Zoless (south Buka) I found out that the same man had been a member of this community and had been killed by Zikan's people about four weeks previously. On the island of Keap in Ernst Günther Harbor in the year 1895 I saw two baskets that contained roasted portions of a human body; in Bagovegove, farther south, two dogs were gnawing at pieces of a human pelvic bone, which could not have been many days old. All over this area I encountered not the slightest inclination on the part of the natives to conceal or to deny this abominable practice.

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To be sure, certain rules are observed at cannibal feasts. The corpse of the slain enemy is brought to a certain place--usually to a clearing not far from the settlement. Here it is cut up and various parts are sent to friendly neighboring tribes. The men eat their portion at this place; a share is sent to the women and children, but they are forbidden to be present at the carving, just as they are generally prohibited from entering this place and the hut that stands on it. In preparing the meat, chacun à son goût. Some like to have their portion boiled, and in this case it is prepared in earthen cooking pots with taro leaves and other vegetables added. Others prefer to roast their portion on red-hot stones or over the coals; in [14] this case it is wrapped in leaves. The meat of the arms and the legs is considered the tastiest; the above-mentioned chieftain Zikan told me that in his estimation a piece of the upper thigh was the pièce de résistance.

Cannibalism is the cause of continual feuds. A tribe of which one member has been eaten up by a neighboring tribe does not rest until it has paid them back in the same coin. Tribe members who for any reason whatsoever are killed by another tribesman, are never eaten. If a dispute arises about such an incident, it is either stoned for by payment, or blood revenge demands a sacrifice for the slain man.

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Cannibalism, here as on the other islands of the South Seas, seems not to have originated in the lack of other animal nourishment, but in the need to express the greatest abasement that can be shown to an enemy. To be sure, I know of cases in which cannibalism has become a passion; such cases nevertheless are probably rather isolated. On the other hand, I also know of cases in which natives refused to take part in cannibal meals, not because these meals caused them any moral qualms, but because they simply did not have any taste for this food. On the island of Torotzian the local chieftain is a great warrior who annually undertakes expeditions to Bougainville, which lies opposite, and has no compunction about killing his enemies; yet I know for a fact that he has tasted no human meat since his childhood. He is present when the bodies are cut up, distributes the various pieces, and observes the feast that follows with the greatest composure, without in the least urging anyone else to follow his example. At various times I have asked him as well as his people his reasons for this exceptional behavior, and the sole reason for his dislike of human meat was always: "He does not like it," his people said; "It does not taste good," he said.

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Scarification

Everywhere in the region in question there prevails the custom of scarification of certain parts of the body, whereby certain patterns are produced. On the almost black skin of the Solomon Islanders a tattoo would leave no traces; scarification, however, leaves visible marks and replaces tattooing there. I have the impression that this skin decoration is practiced more frequently in the north than in the south, but even in the north it is not general, and you see a great many individuals without any skin markings.

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Scarification of the skin is executed by men as well as women--the latter, however, seem to have the greatest artistic proficiency; both treat boys as well as girls. The process takes place somewhere between the 7th and the 11th year. For scratching the skin they use a sharpened shell (*kappi* in Buka). First the face is scarified (A. B. Meyer and R. Parkinson, *Album von Papuatypen*, Plates 26 and 27); the pattern consists of certain parallel zigzag lines arranged according to a set system. The facial scarification is called

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goum. The men, moreover, have on the back of the neck a scarified figure consisting of straight, intersecting lines that is called goum hahess, and a similar decoration on both shoulder blades, called murr. The scarification of women is much more extensive. In addition to the decorations of the men they also have scarified figures of the same pattern on their loins--called galagalan gessa or lagalagu--and on both ankles, called mouu. The scars are healed and made visible by rubbing burned ochre into the wounds.

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The scarification of the individual parts of the body is undertaken in sequence. Only when one part has completely healed is another part of the body treated. After the completion of each part the artist (male or female) receives the traditional payment, and at the same time a festival with obligatory banquets is held.

The scarification is reputedly very painful. Probably as a consequence of this, not everyone feels the desire and inclination to submit to the procedure. In women a completely executed scarification is regarded by the men as a great ornament, and such girls [15] consequently are desired above others and obtain a higher purchase price. The women likewise seem to regard the scarification of the men as an attraction; it can also not be denied that the goum of the men lends the face certain characteristic qualities that, in a wild and warlike people such as the islanders of the northwestern Solomon Islands are, causes the male face to appear particularly handsome.

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In addition to the scarification of the above-mentioned parts of the body, it is customary for many men of the Emperor Range also to scarify the chest from one armpit to the other. The pattern is quite similar to the one described above--namely parallel lines that intersect, forming rectangles and zigzag lines. However, it is rarely that you see a well-scarred pattern; whether this is because the mountain inhabitants do not understand the healing of the wounds so well as the coastal inhabitants or because they proceed less carefully--in any case, as a rule the scars are irregular and make the chest appear as though it had been hacked up in all directions by irregular knife cuts.

Music, Song, Dance

Music, song, and -- connected to them -- the dance have many peculiarities in the northwestern Solomon Islands. Musical instruments are present in the form of drums and Panpipes. The drums are hollowed-out tree trunks that are carefully smoothed off on the outside; the sound slit is often decorated with carvings in bas relief, especially with the head that is characteristic for the region or with the whole human figure. These drums come in various sizes; a few of them are gigantic specimens: 150 centimeters long. As a rule the drums are kept in the huts; less frequently one sees them outside. The drummer takes the drumstick in his right hand and beats it, guiding it by the thumb and index finger of the left hand, in a slow or fast tempo against the side wall of the drum slightly below the sound slit; this produces a resonance that is audible at a great distance. Usually several drums are tuned to various pitches, but I never heard more than four different ones. The natives know how to use these drums to communicate with their distant neighbors in a comprehensible signal language; but the drums are also sounded at dances and other festivities. The skill with which the drummers manipulate their drumsticks is truly astonishing. A slow measure is followed by short rapid beats, then again a few measured beats, once again interrupted by an ever-increasing tempo until finally the beats follow one another so rapidly that they die out as a single long rumble. When several drums are simultaneously beaten at this rapid tempo, the sound is earsplitting for musical European ears, but the Solomon Islanders are delectated by it for hours, and scarcely does one drummer become tired when another one jumps up to continue the noise. 534

The Panpipes are produced in various sizes from bamboo canes. A concert of these pipes does not sound unpleasant. The individual pipes are tuned according to a certain system; there are some with a scale of four and others with a scale of six tones. Different pitches are produced by varying the length and breadth of the reeds--from the deepest bass to the highest treble. I know no other Melanesian people that is able in this way to produce a melody that has any claim to the name "music." I reproduce here a melody, which, however, is always played in harmony. The low range pipes play the individual chords. Unfortunately I was unable to write down the whole phrase as [532]

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it is played in harmony. [Translator's note: one line of music omitted.] This melody, constructed on four tones, is played in a not-too-rapid tempo and repeated several times; the last measure is sustained for a long time and the last chord is gradually decrescendood. Six-tone songs have a melody that is somewhat more complicated but of the very same nature. They do not always dance to this melody; but when they do the men group themselves in such a way [16] that they form rows which emanate radiuslike from the musicians in the center. When the music begins, the dancers begin to revolve around the center; the ones who are closest to the center walk at a measured pace; but the farther the dancer is situated from the middle, the longer he must make his steps in order to stay in line; the ones who are situated farthest from the center must make long leaps in order to keep up at all; for this reason only youths and older boys dance in the extreme outside row. The dancers hold their bows and arrows in their hands, rattle them, and add variety to the music by a shrill whistle every now and then. The song that is sung on this occasion, however, scarcely deserves the name. It consists of a constant repetition of the sound 'o' in the bass clef and the sound 'a' in the treble; these two sounds follow the melody and the phrase of the Panpipe band precisely; this is the only song with musical accompaniment. The previously described dance is performed only by men and boys; women never participate.

Melodies that make use of our whole scale cannot be reproduced because of the limited range of the Panpipe; they are sung therefore, without any actual musical accompaniment, but always accompanied by a monotonous tone that is produced in one way or another. The following melody is one example: [Translator's note: one line of music and text omitted.] The second verse has almost the same wording as the first but with the difference that the word malawolo (a sea fish as is siliholo) replaces the word siliholo. This song is sung in unison when the approximately 10 year old boys are publicly introduced by the dance ha hesinnia in Buka. The singers and dancers form a wide circle, and each holds in his hands a bamboo cane approximately 120 centimeters long and as thick as the human arm. At every step they beat the ground with it producing

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a dull sound. The song is sung softly by all the singers, the tempo is slow like a slow march, and the step is accordingly slow with slightly bent knees. Men as well as women take part in this performance.

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In Buka and north Bougainville I have seen other dances with very elegant steps performed--both by one sex alone as well as by both together. The dancers stand in rows, sometimes in couples next to each other and sometimes in rows opposite each other; the movements consisted of delicate steps (especially the female dancers gave an astonishing performance) as well as knee bends, twistings and undulations of the hips, and slow movements of the arms. These dances could very well be executed in a European ballroom, only I fear that few people would subject themselves to the effort of practicing them. Dances of this sort can only be executed by people who, like the Solomon Islanders, practice and study almost daily, from youth on, the complicated steps with the most varied bodily movements. Flower and foliage garlands around various parts of the body, flower bouquets in the hands and painting of the body red and white go along with these dances. The song that accompanies these dances is always soft and subdued; unfortunately I was not able to get hold of and write down the melody.

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On the Shortland Islands I wrote down a few melodies but unfortunately not the words. They are the following: [Translator's note: two lines of music omitted.] Both melodies were sung in harmony. At the same time the singers walked around in a circle at a rather rapid march tempo; even half-grown children took part in it, and the [17] high children's voices in conjunction with the deeper accompanying voices of the adults produced a very harmonious song which sounded nice even to a European ear.

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When the men go to sea in their large boats, they generally begin singing the previously-mentioned song consisting of 'o' and 'a'; for this same simple text there are still other melodies, which are sung on this occasion. The shovel-shaped oars are dipped into the water in rhythm with the song, sometimes faster and sometimes slower according to the tempo.

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Dwellings

House construction differs in the various parts of the region in question. The Sir Charles Hardy Islands, the Carteret Islands, Buka, and north Bougainville do not differ essentially from one another. Here the huts, for the most part, are situated one beside the other, five to ten in number, the gable ends with the entrance facing the street and the sides so close together that there is scarcely room to pass between them. These buildings vary in length from 6 to 12 meters and in width from 3 to 5 meters with a height of from 3 to 4 meters. The side walls are about half a meter high and consist of strips of the outer hardwood of a palm species, which are laid vertically next to one another and tied firmly to horizontal strips of the same material. Strong central pillars carry the roof, and thin strips of palm wood are fastened perpendicular to the ridgepole in such a way that they extend far beyond the side walls and, when the framework is covered with leaves, almost conceal these sidewalls. These rafters are connected and firmly attached to each other by roof laths, which run parallel to the ridge pole; as a rule the whole roof frame is slightly rounded. As roof covering either woven coconut leaves are used or far more frequently the leaves of another palm--if I am not mistaken, Phytelephas; these leaves are placed individually on a rod about 1 1/2 meters long, and a leaf rib penetrates the individual leaves in such a way that they cover each other and cannot slide off the rod. These individual roof sections are now fastened next to each other and tightly over one another on the roof framework and make a cool impenetrable roof. The gable ends are faced with boards that are split from a tree trunk with an ax and carefully smoothed; and here, about one-half meter above the floor is the entrance, a small rectangular hole, just large enough for a man to slip through comfortably. On the same level with this entrance there is an approximately 1 meter wide platform which takes up the whole width of the gable end and is shaded by the projecting roof; this place is the favorite haunt of the women and children, who, at the slightest suspicious noise, slip from here into the hut and close the little door behind them. Inside, the huts are frequently divided by walls into individual compartments that serve for living, sleeping and cooking. The beds are usually board and bamboo frames that are slightly raised above the floor; sometimes

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a simple coconut leaf mat on the hard packed floor takes the place of these. Under and next to each bed a glowing and smoking coal fire is kept burning during the night--partially to warm the body and partially as protection against gnats. Since the previously mentioned entrance to the hut is the only opening, obviously only a little light enters. Moreover, the hut is completely darkened by the constant smoke, and it is very difficult to distinguish one thing from another inside this dwelling. 352 [354] 342

In this region the chieftains have no special houses, and there are likewise no special assembly houses like the ones we encounter farther to the south. If now and then a chieftain has a larger hut, then the front compartment is generally open, and the big wooden signal drums stand here. This place is also used as the council room of the old men or as the reception room for guests, and thus it substitutes for the taboo houses that will be mentioned later. 344 362

In southern Bougainville as well as on the island of Fauro, the dwellings are frequently built on piles about three to four meters high; a ladder leads up to the door opening. Here the roofs are not so carefully constructed as in the north. The two flat sides are not rounded, and meet at a very obtuse angle. In addition to these pile dwellings there are also huts built on level ground. In the Shortland Islands the latter are more prevalent. 342 171

[18] Characteristic for this part of the islands, however, are the taboo houses and the large houses of the chieftains. Coming from the north, we encounter the first so-called "taboo house" in the village of Toboroi on the east coast of Bougainville. The word "taboo house" is, strictly speaking, a false designation; it would be more correct to say "men's assembly house" since only women and children are forbidden to enter the building. These assembly houses are rather spacious buildings; the floor plan is a rectangle of 15 to 20 meters in length and 6 to 10 meters in width. The side walls are 2 to 2 1/2 meters high; the gable ends are open and the corner posts are sometimes carved--sometimes in the form of the human figure, sometimes in the form of a shark, but just as frequently the carving is a decoration consisting of zigzag lines, rectangles and other geometrical figures. On the side walls of the house tree trunks or bamboo canes are attached to one another to make a long bench; here the men and the youths squat or lie. The favorite place--I am almost 344 171

inclined to say the place of honor--is the bench-like platform at one gable end; this is where the village chieftain sits when he receives guests, and here the old family heads squat beside him when they debate about affairs of the community. Otherwise the assembly house is not particularly revered either by men or by women. Here the men carry out a great part of their work, construct the side pieces of their boats, carve the grotesque boat or house ornaments, weave baskets, etc. From time to time the village stores products assembled for sale here, such as copra and trepang. Even the village hogs are allowed to enter the hut, a privilege, however, that is not extended to the female population of the village; the women are allowed to watch from the outside and see everything that goes on in the assembly house, but they may in no case enter this area. For the great banquets of the men the women carry the prepared foods to the house and put it down at the entrance; inside the men divide the delicacies and send to the women waiting outside the portion assigned to them. In the assembly houses, as a result, one frequently sees whole rows of pigs' jawbones, fishtails or tortoise heads, which are preserved as souvenirs of these feasts. The assembly houses are never built on pilings, but stand on level ground.

In regions where such assembly houses are customary, sometimes one of the large sheds that are used to store the war boats serve this purpose.

The chieftains' houses, which we encounter in the same regions as the above-mentioned assembly houses, are distinguished from the other dwellings by careful construction and by their great spaciousness. It is obvious that a chieftain must have more space at his disposal--partly to house his numerous wives and children and partly to store his sometimes rather considerable possessions consisting of products of local industry. These chieftains' houses either are constructed on pilings of about two meters in height or stand on level ground; the first type we find especially in east Bougainville and on Fauro, the second on the Shortland Islands. The latter has walls of 4 to 5 meters in height; long low wings extend to the sides, which serve mainly as sleeping quarters for the wives and children; the high central hall is the actual living quarters for the chieftain and the storage room for his possessions. The chieftains' houses on pilings have lower side walls and no separate living quarters for the owner. It is not customary to receive friends and neighbors in these dwellings. The living quarters of the chieftain, like

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those of normal people, are forbidden territory to other members of the tribe, and only the wives are an exception to this rule. The men have the assembly house as a common meeting place; neighborly visits in our sense of the word are not customary in the Solomon Islands. As a privileged person, I have occasionally been allowed to enter the chieftains' houses. After your eye has become accustomed to the darkness of the room, you notice the women on the raised beds; part of them are busy caring for the children, others sew strips of pandanus leaves together, prepare fish nets, etc. At most, the favorite wife of the chieftain is unoccupied, and a number of the other wives are always present to serve her exclusively. It is often quite amusing to see how this sultana tyrannizes not only her fellow wives, but also her husband and wields over him a strict petticoat regime. Despite the fact that the men seem to pay little attention to their wives outside, they seem to be very obedient within their own four walls. 344
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Clothing and Ornaments

In very few cases can one speak of clothing in our sense of the word. Gay-colored cotton materials used as loin cloths are customary for men as well as for women in many places nowadays, but there are large areas where they are not yet in use. At most belts and aprons hanging down from them come into consideration there. 291

Belts are worn extensively. They sometimes consist solely of a narrow string fastened firmly around the waist. Young men occasionally use as belts the money strings made of round shell disks and called biruan (see below). The most desired belt (māvesi in Buka), however, consists of braid work such as I shall describe under bracelets; some of these are ten centimeters wide and are executed in a carefully worked pattern in black, yellow and red. More frequently long strips of red-dyed rattan are worn (tōno in Buka). These strips are 5 to 10 millimeters wide and 2 to 8 meters long, dyed a pretty red, and engraved with rectangular figures and zigzag lines. These strips are placed closely around the waist and often drawn extremely tightly. I noticed this belt especially on young dandies, now and then also on older men, but never on women. Both sexes, on the other hand, occasionally wear a belt of pandanus leaves; the leaves are rolled up and natural-colored strands are woven with black or red dyed strands to form a cord that is [531]

frequently finger thick; it is simply knotted in back. In Buka and north Bougainville the women stick a bundle of dried foliage under this belt so that the genitals are concealed. Young girls as a rule do without even this clothing. Over this first belt frequently a broader belt smeared red with ochre is placed; it is likewise called mavesi. It consists of strips of rattan laid next to each other, which are tied to each other with thin strands of thread in such a way that the rattan strips form the warp for the very carefully executed weaving. These belts are 5 to 8 centimeters wide; they are worn only by old and married women. In Taboroi on the east coast of Bougainville the married women wear large dried leaves of a fan palm, whose outer edge is embroidered with a delicate and broad pattern of dark fiber material; this apron is pressed firmly against the front part of the body with one hand when the wearer is walking or sitting. In a village inland from Taboroi I saw a very pretty genital apron on some women. It was made of fine fibers dyed red; a number of these fibers of eighty centimeters length were woven in the center -- for about ten centimeters of their length -- to form a cord of about the thickness of a pencil, and several of these strands were attached lengthwise to one another. The skirt is shoved underneath the belt and the woven part is then folded over the top. A few women were wearing over this genital skirt an even broader belt made of an approximately ten centimeter wide plant material (pandanus?); this was woven through with dark red fibers and wound several times around the waist.

Among the various clothing objects one must also name the umbrellas and parasols made of strips of pandanus leaves, which are used in the Bougainville Strait as well as in Buka. The rectangle of 100 x 60 centimeters which is made out of pandanus strips sewn together is folded lengthwise and sewed together at one end; to use it one places the upper sewed end over the head and lets the remaining part fall down across the back. This article of clothing is completely rain repellent. Sometimes it is made of natural-colored and red-dyed strips, and sometimes the edges or even the whole thing is worked with pretty patterns.

Jewelry is not extensively used. Natives like those of the northern Solomon Islands, who always have their weapons at hand and expend the greatest care on them, do not have a highly developed sense for bodily decoration. Gay-colored blossoms and foliage are occasionally used in the dances; a red hibiscus blossom in the black woolly hair is a favorite ornament of the young dandies. In addition, however,

there are ornamental objects shells and other materials that are occasionally 301
put on.

The islanders wear a twofold ornament as war decoration. First the 301
head is decorated with a plume made of white and yellow cockatoo feathers. 174
Then [20] the warrior hangs a bunch of red and yellow-colored leaf strips
around his neck and arranges it in such a way that it hangs down his back.
In Buka this ornament is called kehala; it is made of strips of dried palm
leaves approximately 50 centimeters long which are firmly fastened to-
gether at one end to form a round button, to which the cord that is put
around the neck is attached. The strips that hang down loose are dyed red
for a distance of about 10 centimeters from the button; then there is a
section of about 10 centimeters which is left its original color; the re-
mainder--about 30 centimeters--is again dyed red. This dye pattern,
however, is not constant, even though it is the one that occurs by far the
most frequently; it seems to be adjusted to the taste of the individual, but
the red color is never missing. The kehala is a talisman that is supposed to [78]
protect one from being wounded in war, and it corresponds to the actual war [171]
ornament of the Admiralty Islanders, which consists of a human bone that
is tightly wound with the pinions of the frigate bird.

The men pierce the septum of the nose and insert a plug of polished 301
tridacna shell through the opening. This plug, called huin in Buka, varies [304]
in length and thickness; I have seen some 13 centimeters in length and 1
centimeter in diameter. Both ends of the carefully smoothed and rounded
huin are pointed.

Earrings are not frequent, but here and there the young men wear ear
ornaments (hakoto in Buka) made of white snail shells and differing in form
and arrangement. Normally 3 to 10 white snail shells are sewed on each
side of a straight little piece of wood, and a single snail finishes off the row
at the lower end; sometimes the wood is bent or broken and sewed only on
one side with snail shells; normally a red-dyed strip of rattan is fastened
lengthwise over the wood to conceal the threads with which the snails are
attached.

Chest ornaments are likewise not common; apart from the now very 301
fashionable European beads I observed two different breast plates that are 171
similar in form. Both consist of a circular plate of polished tridachna shell.
One type is decorated by placing on it a thin plate of tortoise shell with
filigree work; in Buka it is called gulu, and it is identical with the same
ornament in the Admiralty Islands, in New Mecklenburg, and in the southern
Solomon Islands, although it does not reach by far the refinement of the

tortoise shell ornaments such as those produced for example on Fischer and Gardner Islands. The other type consists likewise of a round tridachna plate, which, however, does not have on its surface a tortoise shell plate, but an engraved bird-like ornament that is dyed black; this far less frequent type is called kini in Buks. I believe that only these two forms are characteristic for the northern Solomon Islands. Now and then you find another ornamental object which upon questioning always turns out to have been brought in from other regions. On the east side of the island of Bougainville a few years ago I got a necklace of closely strung circular disks that overlapped--it was made from the upper part of a conch shell. I immediately recognized the Gilbert Islands as the place of origin of this necklace, and I soon found out that it had been taken from the occupants of a boat that had been driven ashore long ago.

On the Shortland Islands you still occasionally run into a sort of chest ornament that is made of brownish-red, black and white shell disks and which there plays a similar rôle to that of the crown jewels of civilized countries. They are called kia and are so rare that everybody knows where such a treasure is to be found. Years ago the old chieftain Gorai showed me such an article, but could not be persuaded to give it up; even the most enticing offer was absolutely refused. After the death of the old man three such kia are supposed to have been distributed; one is in the hands of a chieftain in south Bougainville, a second is kept by one of the sons of the deceased, and a third, in 1896, came into the possession of an Austrian Count Festetics, who got it by trade from a relative of the dead man in exchange for a repeating rifle with shells. The kia consists first of a square with sides about 15 centimeters long. This square is made of reddish-brown disks that are attached firmly to one another in rows and form a wide frame; the middle is filled out with smaller squares in open work, made of brownish red, white, and black disks. One side of the square has long strands of rowed disks [21] that hang free; the opposite side has a number of similar strands fastened by their ends to both corners of the square; when the ornament is donned these strands are put across the head, the square then hangs at the chest, and the dangling strands form a sort of apron. These articles surely came north by way of trade from the islands situated farther to the south. After European glass beads were introduced into these regions, they made from this material quite similar articles, which however do not enjoy the esteem of the original. Red, white and blue beads take the place of the reddish-brown, white and black shell disks.

Arm ornaments in the form of polished rings or ingeniously woven bands are not infrequent. The arm rings in the northwestern Solomon Islands however are almost all imported from other regions. A flat ring of tridachna shell--up to 2 centimeters in thickness--whose outer side has a deep groove, is produced on the island of Wonneran and diffuses as an object of trade to Nissan and from there farther to the southeast. Fine rings of about 1 centimeter in width and rounded on the outside are made in Rubiana and New Georgia. I will also mention that the latter rings are of greater or lesser value according to the material used to make them. Rings of trochus are not so highly regarded as the arm rings made of the large conus shells which have a beautiful ivory-like white sheen. The only arm rings produced in the northwestern Solomon Islands are made from the lower part of a species of trochus and are very rough and irregular; they are not in the least comparable to the carefully polished arm rings of New Mecklenburg made of the same material or the ornamented arm rings from the Admiralty Islands or western New Pomerania.

The islanders apply far greater care to the manufacture of woven armrings. Here again it is the mountain inhabitants of Bougainville who produce the best work--woven articles that with regard to multiplicity of patterns and the tasteful arrangement of colors are equal to the best work of the South Seas of the same sort. These arm rings (basbas in Buka) are 1 1/2 to 7 centimeters wide. The basic weave consists either of black or of brownish-red fibers of about one millimeter in width; the figures are made of golden yellow, red and black fibers and the patterns vary considerably; zigzag lines of greater or lesser width, rectangles and squares executed in one color or in stripes of different colors are the most frequently recurring figures; not infrequently one also sees the Greek fret pattern [die Grechborte] executed in a completely correct style. These woven bracelets have a great value in the eyes of the coastal inhabitants, and it is difficult to persuade the owners to exchange them for other items; as a rule they resist the most enticing offers.

On the north coast of Bougainville, in isolated cases, I have encountered a wrist ornament that is very rare and called kuuones. This ornament consists of a string of snails whose upper rounded shell has been removed so that only the lower flat shell is left. The whole string is about 120 centimeters long, and the disks are fastened to one another in such a way that the string has three sides; the largest disks are placed in the middle--for a length of about forty centimeters--and then toward the two ends they gradually become smaller so that at the extreme ends they are scarcely half as large as the disks in the middle. This very flexible chain--

not unlike our scale-chains [Schuppenketten; A part of the German parade 32] uniform, ed.] --is wound around the wrist.

Leg ornaments are seldom worn. On Bougainville I have occasionally observed rattan bands that were bound tightly around the ankles and that were sometimes dyed red; these rings are woven around the ankle and cannot be removed.

For toilet purposes a comb is used or, more properly speaking, an instrument for scratching the hair. Sometimes this instrument consists of a single, thin, pointed piece of wood, and sometimes it has from two to five teeth. Bamboo is the material normally used, but in south Bougainville they make them with greater care. There the upper end is often neatly woven for about 4 to 6 centimeters with variously colored bast fibers. The owner of a comb like this sticks it into his thick woolly tuft and, when he has the time and opportunity he scratches his hairdo into place. I wish to observe here also that the islanders do not treat their hair with lime; only on festive [22] occasions do they dye their hair with various pigments pulverized in oil. Red, green and white are the favorite colors, and by means of these various patterns are produced. The same colors serve also for the beautification of the body: burned ochre supplies the material for the red streaks around the eyes and mouth or for dyeing the external ear red; white is less common and is for the most part customary only for certain mourning ceremonies. 302 [386]

Money

In Buka and northern Bougainville, as well as on the Carteret and Nissan Islands, three different types of money are to be found, of which two are characteristic for this region. Almost all the types of money that I have seen in the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands consist of shells worked to a greater or lesser extent; in the northwest part of the Solomon group the current money is made of animal teeth. The generic term for it is ulifu, but it is divided into two types, called reki and baiu: reki consists of the teeth of a type of bat; baiu, on the other hand, is made from the teeth of dolphins. A string of reki has about 300 teeth and is about 110 centimeters long, whereas the baiu strings consist of about 500 teeth and are 3 meters long; however, they are of equal value. All the teeth are bored through at the root and strung on a thin thread. The teeth are 436 [77]

arranged in such a way that the larger ones are always at the middle of the string and the smaller ones at both ends. But in order to make the string stronger, it is placed at the roots of the teeth between two thicker strings and these in turn are tied with a thinner string so that the individual teeth stand in intervals of about 3 to 6 millimeters, each tooth precisely parallel to the others and all the tips pointed the same way. Accordingly a string of alifu looks as though the teeth were projecting at equal intervals from a string approximately 7 millimeters thick. This string weaving is dyed with red ochre; as a rule a small olive shell is attached to its ends. This money is also made right in the regions of its use and seems to be quite current in these districts. It disappears as soon as you travel a few miles south from the north end of Bougainville--on the west as well as on the east coast.

The third type of money, on the other hand, which is called biruan is much more widespread. These strings can be encountered from Buka to [171] the Shortland Islands, where they are called pālasalle, and they are supposed to occur even much farther south. I do not know where they are made; no one seems to know anything about it in the north or in the south; both regions ascribe its origins to the other, but completely without basis. Biruan consists of rows of round shell disks of about 5 millimeters diameter and 1 to 1 1/2 millimeters thickness; the outer edge is rubbed smooth and polished, and the center has a hole bored through it. Most of the disks in a string of biruan are made of a mollusk ranging from white to white-gray in color; intermittently, however, there occur also reddish-brown disks of the same dimensions--singly or in groups--without any set arrangement.

The farther south you go, the more frequently the reddish-brown disks appear in the biruan--probably because in the south you encounter a sort of money that is made exclusively of reddish-brown disks of spondylus and which has the same value as biruan. These red money strings are called miamis and probably stem from New Georgia. In the whole southern half of Bougainville as well as on the Shortland Islands this money stands in high esteem; on Choiseul and Ysabel it has a similar value. The strings of miamis are made just like those of biruan; but in order to attain a higher value, they insert at certain intervals of 15 to 20 centimeters alternately black and white disks for a distance of about 4 to 8 centimeters; the white disks are made of shell, and the black ones partially from the same material and partially from a certain black seed.

On the Shortland Islands a very crude sort of money, which is called 436
msufu locally, is made for commerce with the inhabitants of the Crown 171
 Prince Range; the mountain people call this money sputa. It consists of
 a conus mussel, whose pointed end has simply been broken off and whose
 upper end has been pierced so that it can be strung; the individual shells
 are about 7 millimeters wide and 7 millimeters in diameter.

[23] In the mangrove regions of Buka and north Bougainville you fre-
 quently find the shells of a bivalve, which are strung on a string by the
 hundreds. These strings also are used as money for trade with the mountain 437
 people.

Although the previously described objects represent the value of 437
 actual money, this still does not imply that the natives use only these ob-
 jects as media of exchange in commerce among themselves and with their
 neighbors. Rather, all their superfluous possessions are also used for this
 same purpose. The agricultural mountain inhabitants swap fruit to the
 coastal inhabitants for fish; armings of tridachna and conus, as well as
 woven armings, are favorite barter objects when it is a matter of trading
 for spears, bows and arrows; and scarcely an object can be mentioned that
 does not represent a certain market value.

Household Equipment

The household equipment on the northwestern Solomon Islands is 323
 practically the same from Buka to Shortland, even though local variations 171
 occur. Characteristic for this region is the knowledge of pottery-making.
 Cooking pots of baked clay, but without a glaze, are to be found in every
 house. The method of manufacture is the same everywhere: first the clay
 is carefully kneaded and freed of all pebbles; then the potter (the making
 of pots is exclusively the affair of the women) takes a fist-size piece into
 her hands and, using a round stone and a wooden spatula, she forms the
 bottom of the container; when this part is finished, strips of clay of about
 10 to 20 centimeters in length and 2 to 3 centimeters in width are placed
 on the edge of the finished base; with her left hand the potter holds the
 round stone on the inner surface and fits the edges together with the
 dampened spatula. In this way strip after strip is built up until the pot is
 finished. In order to handle the pot more easily, they prepare a ring of

banana leaves into which they put the half-finished pot while the upper sides are being formed. When the pot is the right shape, then here and there--wherever the side walls seem to the maker to be too thin--little clay patches are added for strengthening. After the edge as well as the outside and the inside have been made as smooth as possible with dampened hands, a decoration in the shape of zigzag lines is frequently scratched on the edge. The manufacture of a middle-sized pot takes about an hour. The completed articles are dried for several days in the shade and then baked. This last procedure is very simple. Several pots are placed beside one another, and dry twigs and little pieces of wood are built up around them; then these are ignited and, for a certain time, new fuel is added; after about 8 hours the pot has been sufficiently baked and is ready for use. Pots of the most varied dimensions are to be found--between 15 and 30 centimeters in diameter, but rarely more. The form of the pots differs in the north and in the south of the region under consideration. In Buka and north Bougainville the form is conical, the sides are slightly rounded and the rim is not bent outwards. In Shortland and south Bougainville the shape is almost spherical and the opening is narrow with a rim that is flared out. [171]

After acquaintance with the Europeans and the introduction of smoking tobacco the islanders successfully undertook the manufacture of pipes. Fifteen years ago you could frequently buy pipes there that were made of two pieces. The clay bowl had only a very short shaft, which was inserted into a thin stem, and the point of connection wrapped with bast fibers; today they have already made a certain sort of progress by preparing the bowl and the shaft out of a single piece and often decorate the bowl with engraved ornaments. The local product is now preferred to the European almost everywhere. 323 276

It is surprising that no one has come up with the idea of making clay drinking vessels or water containers. Coconut shells are used exclusively for these purposes. In the north they are superficially scraped on the outside with a stone; but in the south great care is often applied to their preparation. In Shortland I have seen specimens that were provided with a coating made from the pulverized fruit of Parinarium laurinum; into this shell [23] disks and beads were pressed and delicate ornaments were formed by this means. They had two shapes: the one was spherical and called fasi, and the other had a short neck, which was likewise decorated like the above container, and called kungkuku. Now these containers are becoming rather 415 171 [221]

rare: the empty beer bottles of the Europeans are easily available and full-⁴⁴⁵
fill the same purpose. 171

Sharpened mollusk shells and bones were formerly in common use as ⁴¹²
knives and scrapers, but today they are to be found only in the inland vil-
lages. On the coast and on the small islands the knife is now in general use.

In north Bougainville and Buka and here and there even in south ⁴¹⁵
Bougainville one finds utensils (several in every village) which are used for
pulverizing various cooked tubers. The instrument consists of a conical
wooden block -- about 1 meter high -- whose point is inserted about 25
centimeters deep into the ground. The outer sides are sometimes decorated ^[531]
with bas relief carvings and painted; the upper rim projects slightly, and
at the bottom, about 25 centimeters from the tip, an embossed ring is
carved. The inverted base of the cone is 20 to 30 centimeters in diameter.
The inner part is hollowed out so that the whole thing resembles a large
wooden jug. Cooked taro and yam roots are put into this container and ^[252]
crushed to a thick mush with the stick that is about a meter and a half long;
in Buka this instrument is called maromo, and in Shortland tagoro.

Another household utensil that is characteristic for the north consists
of a circular board of about 50 to 75 centimeters diameter with a carved
embossed rim and two diametrically opposite handles. This plate is used
for pulverizing kanari nuts, which are crushed and pulverized on it with ⁴¹²
a stone pestle. These pestles vary in size and weight; most of them are ⁴¹⁵
15 to 20 centimeters in diameter on the slightly convex pounding surface.
The pestle itself is conical, and at the top it ends in a handle with a knob
or with a somewhat projecting edge. A few specimens are carefully
polished; in my collection there is an especially well-made specimen,
which has been polished completely smooth. The lower part of the pestle
is circular with a diameter of 9 1/2 centimeters; at a height of 12 1/2 centi-
meters the sides flare slightly upward; then there follows the 9 centimeter
long handle, which is decorated at the top with a conical knob that projects
on every side about 1 centimeter. In Buka the wooden plate is called
marara and the stone pestle kukono.

In the village of Toboroi on the east coast of Bougainville, after an ⁴¹⁵
expedition into mountain villages in the year 1896, a feast was prepared ¹⁷¹
for me upon my return. It does not deserve mention for its culinary ac-
complishments, but because here I found a number of woven dishes and
baskets being used to serve the meal, which otherwise I had seen nowhere
in Bougainville. Three characteristic shapes were represented. First, round
dishes were used to pile cooked fish on. These dishes had a base of 40 to

60 centimeters in diameter, and around this was an obliquely projecting rim -- 10 to 15 centimeters wide -- which was pierced by 4 to 6 triangular holes. This sort of shallow dish was called dara. The second type of dish was conical in shape; the flat round base was about 15 centimeters in diameter and the mouth 60 centimeters. The sides were about 40 centimeters high, curved gently inward, and provided with four triangular holes beneath the rim. In the bottom there was small diamond-shaped opening of about 1 centimeter in length on each side, probably to drain the fluid that collected in the dish. Pots of this form were called dondo; they were filled with boiled and baked taros and yams. The triangular holes along the rim serve as handles when it is being carried. The third type--the handle basket--has the name koko. There were two different types of these baskets: some had a flat oval base, and the erect rim was pressed together at the sides and provided with a woven handle about 4 centimeters wide and 20 centimeters high; others consisted of a round plate whose sides were curved upward and connected with a handle. These baskets were also used for serving various dishes. The method of production is the same as is found in New Guinea, New Pomerania, and the Admiralty Islands. A strip of a tough variety of liana about 3 to 4 millimeters in diameter is sewed to another with 1 to 1 1/2 millimeter wide fiber threads. The strips are connected in pairs by coiling the thread around them. [derart dass die Windungen aus der ersteren paarweise untereinander durch Umwicklung verbunden werden.] Otherwise people use the usual simple baskets woven of coconut leaves.

[25]

Tools

We will begin with the stone axes, which can also be counted among the weapons. Nowadays they are no longer in general use. In the interior of Bougainville I found them being used as late as 1896, and here they will possibly continue in use for a short time; in Nissan, Buka, in the coastal regions of Bougainville and on the Shortland Islands they now belong to the implements of the past.

Several years ago my attention was directed to these axes by a few specimens that were brought from Nissan and, with respect to shape, deviated significantly from the normal shape of primitive ax blades. I am publishing my investigations in detail in order to show how, step by

step, I attained a clear picture of these interesting implements, and partially also in order to show that it is not always so very easy to obtain reliable information. 411 412

The specimens from Nissan had been shown to me when people were on the point of packing them up and sending them to Berlin. At the beginning of 1895 I came to Buka and made it my business to search for stone axes. At first nobody seemed to know about such objects, but finally--after urgent questioning and after I had sketched a Nissan stone ax from memory and offered a large reward--I succeeded in bringing an ax blade to light. Enticed by the reward I had offered the islanders now began searching, and I succeeded in collecting a number of Buka ax blades; they are exactly like the ax blades from Nissan, which probably originally came from Buka, since Nissan is a raised coral island and affords no material for the making of the blades. All of these specimens, however, I received without the original binding, so that at first I was in doubt as to what that might be. They are of varying size, and the following description refers to a particularly well-preserved specimen: the entire length amounts to 21.5 centimeters; both ends are sharpened, and each cutting edge is 7 centimeters wide; in the middle the ax is 9 centimeters wide and about 5 centimeters thick. Just above the middle a carved groove about 2 centimeters wide and 2 1/2 to 3 millimeters deep encircles the blade; on one side it branches into two grooves, which have between them a small ridge about two centimeters wide and projecting 4 millimeters. I suspected, to be sure, that the described groove had served to fasten it to a handle, but was unable to obtain reliable information. The younger people apparently knew nothing about the matter, and the older ones supplied insufficient descriptions that I did not understand. 171

A few days later I visited the northeast tip of Bougainville, where I displayed the blades obtained in Buka. At first I was told that there were no such stone blades here. On the following day, however, they brought me a few blades that were quite different in shape from the Buka blades. I will describe one of these blades here: the entire length amounts to 28 centimeters. One end has a sharp and somewhat curved cutting edge 5 1/2 centimeters wide, and the other end is 6 1/2 centimeters wide and is ground down to a rather dull edge. The greatest width of the blade through the middle amounts to 7 1/2 centimeters, and its thickness about 6 centimeters; in cross section it is oval. The sides of the blade slope somewhat at both cutting edges, whereby the entire blade, which is ground smooth, acquires a light and elegant appearance. In the course of the day I acquired

several such articles. In order to become familiar with the lay of the land, 411
I made a longer expedition on the following day into the interior, ac- 412
companied by a few natives whom I knew to be reliable. Two smaller 171
villages, whose inhabitants all ran away, had already been passed when we
arrived at a larger settlement, whose inhabitants -- probably relying on
their superior numbers -- displayed sufficient courage to remain at home.
A messenger sent out in advance had persuaded, if not the entire population,
at least the male contingent to wait for me. I was received by a rather
numerous force that was bristling with weapons, and who can describe my
joy when I saw in the hands of a man who seemed to fill the office of a
zōnun bura (chieftain) a real stone ax with its original binding. The rich
gift that I exchanged for this splendid article, was of no small influence
in initiating friendly relations. But despite the most enticing offers I did
not succeed in obtaining further specimens of this type. A description of 411
the highly singular binding of the bartered ax follows: about 14 centimeters 412
from the sharp cutting edge a 78 centimeter long piece [26] of rattan is 171
wound double around the blade. The two ends of the rattan are each 21 284
centimeters long and twisted together to form the handle that stands at
right angles to the blade. The middle part of the rattan, which is wound
double around the blade, is narrowed considerably and wrapped with a fine
rattan fiber; this wrapping extends about 4 centimeters down on the shaft
and is most carefully woven in order to attach the blade sufficiently well
to the handle. This was also apparently the purpose of two rattan strips
that -- emanating from the parts of the rattan loop which lay along the
two side edges of the ax -- crossed at the middle of the duller blade and
are wound around the ax blade several times above and below the handle.
The end of the handle is likewise firmly wrapped with rattan strips. The
stone ax itself is covered with a shining black varnish, which also com-
pletely covers the sharp cutting edge. The specimens I had obtained on
the coast had no such varnish, and I later succeeded in acquiring only one
more varnished blade without a handle. This varnish would immediately
be scraped off if the ax were used as an artisan's tool. I therefore assumed
that at least some of the stone axes are used as weapons, and subsequent
statements of the natives confirmed this.

After I had seen the above-described method of binding, the sig-
nificance of the groove on the Buka blades was absolutely clear. When I
later showed my Bougainville ax in Buka, I was informed by older people
that the binding of their blades had been done in almost exactly the same
way.

When I visited these regions again in 1896, I again obtained a number of the above-mentioned blades and even a few with handles, but none with such a complete handle as the described specimen, which I can justifiably number among the truly splendid items of my collection. This time the trip extended also to Shortland and south Bougainville, and I succeeded in obtaining some similar stone axes as well as some quite new ones. It was on the Shortland Islands first of all that I obtained a few ax blades of a type previously unknown to me; for the greater part they were badly damaged, but for perfect specimens I was sent to the coastal villages of south Bougainville, which formerly had supplied Shortland with its needs. I then succeeded in bartering there for a large number of blades and some few specimens with the original handles. Specimens with handles seem already to be rather rare. The blades differ significantly in length: I obtained ones from 8 to 34 centimeters in length. I will describe one of the large ones in detail: the entire length amounts to 34 centimeters: the sharpened edge is $5\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters wide and semi-circular; the side which is turned outward when it is fastened is rather more convex than the surface turned toward the shaft. The blade tapers from the edge toward the back -- at first inconspicuously, but then more and more so until it ends in a conical point; it is polished very smooth. It is fastened to the wooden shaft, which is bent like a knee, by means of a 5 to 6 centimeter wide ring of woven rattan strips; this is done in such a way that the blade is wedged more and more firmly against the shaft at every blow. The people of the coast, who get these blades from the inhabitants of the Crown Prince Range, have imitated them in tridachna shell, but these imitations do not seem to be particularly common, and I obtained only a few specimens.

In the village of Toboroi on the east side of Bougainville the coastal inhabitants brought me into contact with natives who live in the vicinity of the Guinot Mountain. From these people also I enriched my collection to the extent of two ax blades, which deviate somewhat from the previously described ones. I will give a description of the larger of the two blades: the entire length amounts to 19 centimeters; the cutting edge is $9\frac{1}{2}$ centimeters wide and rather markedly curved; from the cutting edge the ax runs almost to a point; at the upper end, which is about $1\frac{3}{4}$ centimeters wide, there is a notch about 3 millimeters deep. When I asked the natives about the method of fastening it, it was explained that the handle had originally consisted of rattan that was wrapped around the blade and held fast

by other strips of rattan laid over the notch. It was not difficult to demonstrate the method with a piece of rattan. It is identical with the binding that I described from the Emperor Range. It seems accordingly that this method of fastening the ax blades is typical for middle Bougainville, north Bougainville, Buka and Nissan. 411
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[27] We find a similar mode of fastening the ax blades again in the French Islands, on Cape Villaumez and at the south cape of New Pomerania, but a description of these objects is outside the realm of my present purposes.

I believe that in the preceding material I have given an exhaustive description of all stone ax blades occurring in the northwestern Solomon Islands; in any case I nowhere succeeded--despite the most careful inquiry--in finding other types. In Bougainville the demand for iron axes is especially great, and in a few years stone axes will have fallen completely into disuse there; the chance that led to me a few stone blades in their original condition may not be so favorable to later travelers. This is my excuse for the somewhat longwinded explanation of how I succeeded in clarifying this highly interesting method of binding, which deviates so radically from all other types.

Although stone axes unquestionably were used also as weapons in hand-to-hand combat--and still are in the interior of Bougainville--it is beyond doubt that they served primarily as artisan's tools. In this capacity they have been replaced for the most part by iron tools today--even in the inland villages, which maintain active relations with the coastal inhabitants and procure their requirements there.

On the small islands at the northwest end of Bougainville I saw numerous rows of cyprina shells which are found in the mangrove swamps. They serve as a medium of exchange in commerce with the mountain people. The latter use them as cutting and scraping instruments when they are making arrows, spears, bows, etc. In certain spots I have seen sharpened boar's teeth used as scrapers in the manufacture of wooden objects. Special types of coral serve as rasps for planing wooden boards. Sharpened oyster shells, which formerly were used as knives, have now been almost completely replaced by knives. 412
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[39]

Whetstones of hard dark stone, which were formerly used for sharpening the stone blades, can be found everywhere; smaller whetstones made of a brown fine-grained stone--about the size of a hand--serve for sharpening smaller objects like fishhooks, etc.; today they are used for whetting knives and ax blades. 412

This actually exhausts the catalog of tools. With these few 412 implements people were able in former times to produce just as carefully wrought arrows and spears, just as carefully planed boards for boat building, as they can with modern and more refined tools. It is a very mistaken assumption that natives, after they have adopted our far better tools, also make progress in the perfection of the objects made with them. Rather, one could assert the opposite. I cannot recall a single case in which objects fashioned nowadays are closer to perfection than the ones stemming from the remote past. The newer products have not even remained on the same level, but show a marked decline over a period of time. In the northwestern Solomon Islands this decline is not yet especially noticeable, but in small things the practiced eye already sees a falling off from the old strict traditions. The wrapping of the spears with gay-colored bast fibers has already in certain places been replaced by wrapping with a gay-colored piece of cotton material; the carving of the boat prows is more carelessly executed than it was years ago, and I could cite a whole series of further examples. It is with justification that we today seek to assemble as far as possible in ethnographic museums the objects that are doomed to extinction; nevertheless it is necessary to make haste lest much be lost completely or represented by poor imitations.

Weapons

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Concerning weapons in general see page 2 f. above.

a) Spears

First of all the spears draw our attention because they are distinguished by especially careful workmanship, and, in addition, can be numbered among the most dangerous weapons of the South Sea peoples. Best known in European museums is probably the spear that [28] is made in great numbers in the villages of the southern Crown Prince Range. From there it makes its way far to the south and to the north as a coveted article of trade. (1)

1. Cf. for example Guppy, *The Solomon Islands*, Plate between pages 74 and 75, Figure 2; H. L. Roth, *IAE*, Vol. XI, 155.

In its entire length this spear measures approximately 340 centimeters, 411 of which about 60 centimeters comprise the ornamented tip. The body of the spear is made of a hard palm wood and at the thickest point is about 2 1/2 centimeters in diameter; the end opposite the point tapers gradually and is about .5 centimeters in diameter at the end. The inland inhabitants call this spear kugu, and the Shortland Islanders, who mediate its export, potulu. The various parts of the point have their own names. First, the outermost tip -- about 1 1/2 centimeters long -- is carefully bound with yellow bast. Then there are 6 rows of barbs, which are arranged in groups of four in such a way that the ones closest to the extreme tip are the shortest. This last group of the six rows of barbs is called frull (Shortland: kukuluna). Then there follow two rows of four barbs each, which are substantially longer than the barbs of the frull. These two rows are called itina and itina takanne, and the individual barbs are named masfnke and māmongke; the barbs of the row towards the tip (masfnke) are about 6 centimeters long and those of the following row (māmongke) about 8 centimeters. There now follows a row of four approximately 10 centimeter long barbs, which are called pūngu (Shortland: kumaisi). Between the four pūngu there stand four rows, each having five short barbs--about .5 centimeters long--called siska; they are fastened to the spear shaft by means of fine bast threads and coated with a white clay found in the mountains and called moruvami (Shortland: fiof). This just-described section comprises the actual tip of the spear. The barbs are made from the wingbones of the flying dog (Pteropus, "bat"); the outer end is sharply pointed, and the inner end is sunk into the spear shaft and fastened here with the pulverized nut of Parinarium laurimum, which here is called osbo. A brown earth, ugura, and a white earth moruvami are used to decorate the shaft as well as the barbs. This barbed part of the spear is followed by an ornamented section, which can never be completely missing even if it occasionally is not completely executed. This ornamented section consists of four divisions: first, the last row of barbs is followed by a carefully executed wrapping of the shaft with red and yellow plant fibers of about one millimeter in width. The yellow ones are called rutta (Shortland: latili) and the red ones rakagami (Shortland: pūnnga); they are the external covering or skin of a type of rush that grows in the interior. By means of various treatments, it assumes these colors. This woven work forms a row of alternately red and yellow zigzag lines, which run around the spear

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shaft. The weaving itself is called tuu (Shortland: nhamu). This 53/
 woven work is followed by a carving that goes all around the shaft 41/
 and represents two human figures. This part is called kāgoi (Short- 17/
 land: kāpoina) and may never be missing on a complete spear; the 24/
 same is true for the knob that follows it: uīru (Shortland: zimpu
putuna). The uīru is a knob of 3 1/2 centimeters in diameter made
 of firmly pressed red and yellowish leaf fibers. The yellow fibers
 form an approximately 3 millimeter wide center ring, which is
 bounded on both sides by a hemisphere made of red fibers; the yel-
 low ring is called zigāre. This knob, in turn, is followed by a
 decoration of red and yellow weaving made of the same material as
 the previously described woven ornament--only the zigzag lines do
 not run around the spear shaft, but along it. Occasionally the whole
 remaining spear shaft is covered with this red and yellow braidwork,
 but this sort of spear seems to be rather rare, and I have seen only
 one. The carved ornament, kāgoi, and the sphere that follows it,
uīru, have a special significance, although I am not in a position to
 explain it fully. According to the information I received kāgoi seems
 to be a symbol of the lethal power inherent in the spear: "It sees [778]
 the enemy," an old native told me; and the deceased Gorai, in his
 primitive English, gave me the explanation: "he all the same eye,"
 that is, it is like the eye. He designated the head as "house belong
kāpoina," that is, the house or the domicile of the kāpoina or the
kāgoi. I wish to observe here that the same ornament not infrequently
 also occurs on arrow shafts; I do not recall ever having seen it in
 other connections. On the arrow shafts it is not always completely
 executed; sometimes only the face is sketchily hinted at, but one
 cannot fail to recognize it as one and the same ornament.

[29] Just as the described spears diffuse far to the south by way 41/
 of trade, so they also come to the north, and not infrequently you 17/
 find them in Buka, where indeed they are imitated here and there
 without attaining, to be sure, the artistic skill of the mountain in-
 habitants of Bougainville. On the other hand, I never found them
 among the numerous inhabitants that I saw from the interior of
 northern Bougainville. The forms current here are by far more
 varied, although I cannot say that in carefulness of execution they
 exceed those from south Bougainville. But before I say anything [439]
 more specific about these spears, it will be of interest to find out
 what articles the inland inhabitants of south Bougainville receive to

exchange for their products. The principal medium of exchange consists of white shell bracelets made of tridacna (giant mollusk). These very carefully made rings--called gorau in Shortland--are made in Rubiana and New Georgia and come from there to Shortland on the trade routes. Although these rings have recently been rather closely imitated in Europe in porcelain-paste [Porzellanmasse] and have been circulated in trade, these imitations still do not have anywhere near the value of the original arm rings. A real tridacna bracelet is just as valuable as a spear, yet four rings made in Europe scarcely suffice for the same purpose. It is astonishing how great the demand is for such spears. Old Gorai, who to a certain extent had a monopoly on this trade, showed me on the occasion of a visit a number of bundles of spears, which could not have contained less than two thousand items. Likewise, numerous bundles of tridacna bracelets proved that he intended to make new purchases.

The form of the spear in south Bougainville is constant. In north Bougainville it is highly irregular. At the northeast end I came into contact with numerous natives from the interior. Also I have had opportunity to visit them in their mountain villages, but I have never been able to find a single spear form that is typical for this region. The various spear forms can be divided into four main groups:

Group I: smooth spears without barbs.

Group II: spears with barbs that are carved out of the body of the spear.

Group III: spears with inserted barbs made of a different material from the spear shaft.

Group IV: multi-pronged spears.

In all of these the ornamentation by means of painting, carving, and the attachment of braid work is extremely varied and seems to be adapted to the taste of the individual artisan. The actual shaft of the north Bougainville spears is frequently square and wrapped its entire length with pandanus leaves. The material for the fabrication of spears is generally the same as in south Bougainville, but in addition other materials are also used, such as hard wood species for barbs, likewise fish bones, pieces from the beak of the rhinoceros bird, etc. Nowhere in north Bougainville do we find braidwork as carefully executed as in the south; frequently the wrapping of the shaft with yellow fiber material (uare in north Bougainville and uile in Buka) done

in the same fashion as on the south Bougainville spears replaces in these areas the braiding. The red-dyed fiber material that is used in the south is not used for the decoration of spears in the north--at least I do not recall a single case; however, this red fiber material is known there, for it is used in making bracelets and belts. 411 71

b) Arrows

After the spear come the bow and arrow as the principal weapons of the inhabitants of the northwestern Solomon Islands. The spears are always present in significantly fewer numbers. If a person leaves his village, whether by land or by water, bows and arrows are always his inseparable companions, and at the slightest suspicious noise the right hand holds an arrow ready to be placed on the bow string.

We will begin with a discussion of the arrows. There are large and extensive districts that are not familiar with their production--a fact that I mentioned above (page 2). On Buka, for example, no arrows are made, and likewise they are not made in a large part of the coastal districts of Bougainville nor on the islands of the Bougainville Strait. The natives of these regions obtain their requirements from the mountain villages of Bougainville--not only the elaborate arrows with the variously arranged barbs, but also the arrows with the entirely smooth point. To be sure, the arrow industry is also encountered [30] on the island of Nissan, about 30 nautical miles northwest of Buka, but from here there is only a small export to Buka. I assume that it was the isolated position of the Nissan group that compelled the local inhabitants, who differ in no way from the Buka people, to make their own arrows, because the importation from Buka, with which Nissan maintains communications by boat, did not suffice to cover the need. The Nissan arrows do not differ essentially from the arrows of Bougainville, and the Buka people who go to Nissan today still take along Bougainville arrows.

The description of the arrows is not easy because the forms are so extremely varied. A systematic division will be of use here likewise. Since in the course of the years I have not only had several thousand arrows in my hands, but also had the opportunity to observe countless quantities of this type of weapon on the spot, I believe that the following division into various groups will comprise all types: 411

- 411
- I. Arrows with smooth tips:
 - a) with a round tip;
 - b) with a square tip.
 - II. Arrows whose tips are equipped with barbs:
 - a) with barbs that are carved out of the tip itself;
 - b) with barbs that are made of a different material from the tip, (that is, bones, fish bones, thorns, etc.) and are artificially connected with the latter.
 - III. Arrows with several points, used for catching fish.

The arrow consists of the tip and the shaft. The tip varies in length from 30 to 50 centimeters. It is always inserted three to four centimeters into the shaft and bound firmly to it with a fine bast thread; for greater strength the joint is coated with the pulverized fruit of *parinarium laurinum*. [824]

There are no poison arrows in the Solomon Islands although this assertion is constantly repeated. An arrow equipped with barbs is in itself a sufficiently dangerous weapon without needing to be poisonous in addition. Deep wounds inflicted by such arrows are highly dangerous because it is almost impossible to remove the arrow without leaving fragments behind. If the wound is in a fleshy part of the body, it is preferable to shove the arrow tip entirely through the wound; but if the arrow is in the trunk of the body--say in the chest or stomach cavity--then the wound is regarded as deadly from the very outset. The smooth arrows, although dangerous enough in themselves, do not cause such ghastly wounds, and these generally heal rapidly unless more sensitive areas have been damaged. The yellow fiber material with which the arrow tip is wrapped at its extreme sharp end, is not poisonous and serves solely to protect the point that otherwise would easily be damaged.

The shaft, on the average, is 1 meter long and sometimes even a little more. At the lower end it is almost always wrapped with fine bast fibers and smeared with the pulverized nut of *parinarium* in order to prevent the shaft from splitting. The extreme lower end is notched as a rule; the notch is produced simply by making an oblique cut across the bottom; when the arrow is placed on the bowstring, the soft pith in the inside of the shaft gives without resistance. [824]

In Buka and north Bougainville the arrow point is called pill, in the Crown Prince Range and in Shortland māsnou and (if equipped with [77]

barbs) uardu; the shaft is called unga and farther south kungkung. ⁴¹¹ (171)

In most cases one sees on the arrow shaft an engraved black design above the individual knots of the cane. In Buka this design is ⁴¹¹ called korakoroto. For a long time I regarded it as simply an ornament, but in recent years I have come to the conclusion that the engraved design is to be considered a sort of trademark whereby the maker designates his ware. To be sure, I did not succeed in ascertaining beyond a doubt whether the design is supposed to represent the name of the maker or the name of the district where the arrow was made. But this much is certain: in Carola Harbor (Buka) I [31] was told precisely the place of origin of arrows I had acquired by trade on the north coast of Bougainville; and, upon asking how they were able to specify the origin so precisely, I received the reply that the design on the knots of the arrow shaft was the korakoroto of this or that place, whereby the places were mentioned where I had acquired the arrows. 422

c) Bows

The bow is made from the outer hard wood of a type of palm; ⁴¹¹ as a rule it is about 2 meters long, about 4 centimeters wide in the middle, and gradually tapers toward the ends. The outer side is flat and almost always dyed dark-brown to black. The side facing the string is convex and often polished to a high gloss; along the middle there runs a single or double black line. When the bow is being used, this serves the marksman as a sight, since the bowstring and this line must always be in a certain relation to each other when the arrow is being released. The best bows come from the interior of Bougainville and are highly coveted in the coastal regions as well as in Buka. The bowstring is twisted out of strong plant fibers and frequently wrapped with the often mentioned yellow fiber material--partially to prevent the string from raveling and partially also as an ornament. The string is permanently attached to one end of the bow, and the other end is easily detachable so that the bow can be strung more tautly or more loosely at will. If the string is to be adjusted, the bowman holds the bow upright before him holding the lower end with the big toe of his left foot, and the other end with his left hand. With this he bends the bow gently and

with his right hand releases the string which is lengthened or shortened as desired, accordingly to the amount of tension needed. The end of the string fastened to the bow is called hapitta in Buka, and the adjustable end is called kopul.

When using the bow, the bowman holds it in his left hand along with his supply of arrows (usually 10 to 15). The index finger of this hand is somewhat extended and serves to press the arrow gently against the bow. The right hand grasps the arrow at its lower end between the thumb and the bent index finger and presses the notch against the string, drawing it at the same time. When the arrow is released the bow is always held in such a way that the arrow is poised at eye height to the bowman; the position of the bow seems to be chosen at will: sometimes it is held vertically and sometimes more or less slanted. Some bowmen possess great facility in the use of their weapon and only rarely miss their mark. Especially the inhabitants of the mountain villages of the Emperor Range are formidable opponents; they are able to seek shelter behind even the slightest cover, and from there they send their rarely erring arrows against the enemy, who in turn displays extraordinary agility in escaping the shot. It is always interesting to watch the boys in a village when they are practicing bow shooting. For this purpose they use smaller bows of bamboo and, instead of arrows, harmless plant stalks. To be sure, they also make small arrows from the individual pinnules of coconut leaves, and with these they hunt fish on the coral reefs or small birds or shoot at a target that has been set up; although these bows may look harmless, they can produce sensitive wounds even though they are used by the young marksmen as an actual weapon only in exceptional cases. I heard of a case in a village at Carola Harbor in which an enraged young warrior pierced both cheeks of another boy with such an arrow.

To protect their bow arm the islanders have a highly ingenious contrivance. It consists of a ten or twelvefold spiral of tree bark, which covers the entire lower arm from the wrist to the elbow. These arm pads are called haveloso in Buka.

d) Clubs

The club has far less significance in these regions. It is made of a hard palm wood and is about 130 centimeters long. The striking end

is lancet-shaped and takes up about one-half of the whole club; the greatest width of the striking end in the middle amounts to about 7 1/2 centimeters; along the [32] middle of the lancet-shaped striking end there runs a raised center rib all the way to the extreme point; as a rule the blade is provided with an engraved ornamentation on one side. The upper half comprises the shaft or the handle; it is about 4 to 4 1/2 centimeters wide and is pointed at the top. The entire handle is wrapped with strips of rattan, in such a way that each circle of red-dyed rattan (about 8 centimeters wide) is succeeded by a wrapping of yellow rattan of the same dimensions, and so on alternately all the way to the end.

Navigation

It has already been mentioned that active commerce by water goes on between the various coastal and island tribes, and that boat trips not infrequently extend to great distances. Therefore it is understandable that the Solomon Islanders expend great care in the production of their boats. For normal fishing in the immediate vicinity of the coast and on the coral reefs they use rafts and simple boats with outriggers. For longer journeys they use boats constructed carefully of boards and without outriggers.

As a rule the rafts consist of three or four tree trunks laid adjacent to each other and pointed at both ends; the individual trunks are fastened to one another by means of hardwood pegs.

Simple boats are made of a single tree trunk; they come to a point at both ends and have two or three outriggers and floats, depending on their length. On the island of Nissan these boats are especially narrow so that the hollowed-out space just suffices for placing one leg in front of the other; these Nissan boats frequently have outriggers and floats on both sides. As a rule these boats are not used for long journeys; they are used in calm weather for fishing on the high seas and for traffic in the harbors shut off by islands and reefs. These boats come in all sizes; from a few meters long and barely sufficing to carry one man, up to a length sufficient for 5 to 6 occupants. As a rule the larger ones have a platform on the outriggers that is parallel to the long axis of the boat and consisting of staves placed close together and attached to the wood of the outriggers; sometimes a

smaller, basketlike, square container is attached above this plat- 501
 form. Both are used for storing all sorts of things: fish, implements,
 baskets of food, etc. The ornamentation of these boats is not very [531]
 careful; some have, on the prow as well as the stern, individual
 geometrical figures painted black and red, others a similarly painted
 figure of a bird, and still others the grotesque human figure executed
 in bas relief, which we find so often in the northwestern Solomon
 Islands and which is characteristic for this region. By far the greatest
 number of dugouts have no ornamentation at all. They are to be
 found in Nissan, on the Carteret Islands, in Buka and on the coast 501
 of Bougainville--especially in the north and in the east--as well as 174
 on the islands of the Bougainville Strait. Recently they have begun 177
 making sails of cotton material; yet older islanders assured me re-
 peatedly that this was an innovation that was not known in their
 youth. In a few places, for example Carolis Harbor and the Shortland
 Islands, I was able to date the first appearance of sails. In the former
 place sails of cotton material were first introduced in 1890; in the
 Shortland Islands no one had sails in the year 1885, but in the year
 1888 they were quite common. In their cut these sails imitate a
 European spar boat sail [Sprit-Bootssegel] From this it can probably
 be concluded that the use of sails is an innovation of most recent
 times and a simple imitation of European sails.

By far the greatest care is expended on the construction of the 396
 large boats built of boards. Guppy gives an exhaustive description 171
 of the ones from the southeastern Solomon Islands and the Shortland
 Islands. The big boats in Nissan, Buka, and northern Bougainville
 differ slightly in form from those in the Shortland Islands, although
 the arrangement of the boards is exactly the same as Guppy describes.
 The individual boards are first split with an ax from the felled trunk
 and planed as carefully as possible; in order [38] to make the not
 very hard wood more resistant, they char the sides slightly. First
 two long boards are attached together and form the bottom of the boat
 so that the joint follows the keel line. The side boards are likewise
 attached to these keel planks; three or four rows, and more rarely
 five, suffice to build up the sides. The prow and stern are constructed
 high and pointed from two planks which meet at a very acute angle.
 In the Shortland Islands as a rule they are much longer and almost
 vertical, and in the north more curved, but everywhere ornamented. [531]

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The ornamentation in Buka is a double one: it consists either of a row of the grotesque heads and human figures that are characteristic for this region in varying arrangements, or it is a row of reversed vees. All ornaments are executed in bas relief and painted black, red and white. In the Shortland Islands the very high prow is frequently decorated with a carved human figure; according to the statements of natives this is a personification of the tutelary deity who grants auspicious sea voyages and wards off evil spirits. In Buka the prow and stern are ornamented with an approximately 40 centimeter wide fringe, which extends from the tip of the prow to the waterline. This fringe (kehakehala) consists of red-dyed dried leaf strips of a species of palm.

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The joints are tightened by smearing them with the pulverized nut of parinarium laurinum. In order to give the light shell greater resistance and durability, wooden frames are set into the boat, which press firmly against the sides and are fastened to these at the edge. These frames (in Buka called mapou) are cut from a single piece and, corresponding to the inside shape of the boat, are almost semicircular. The two upper ends of the semicircle are connected by a straight piece of wood. From the middle of this two or three props lead to the semicircle, which is thereby given greater rigidity. Also the thwarts for the rowers serve this purpose; they are notched underneath in such a way that the notches project beyond the edges of the boat on both sides and prevent them from bending in or out. These boats vary greatly in size; there are many that comfortably carry 40 adults and in addition a considerable cargo. In the middle of the large chieftains' boats a small platform is built on which the owner stands, with bow and arrow in hand.

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The rowers sit together in pairs on the thwarts and propel the boat with light oars that are different in the north and the south. In the Shortland Islands the oar (fase) has a wider and shorter blade than in Buka; at the upper end the handle is provided with a small crook that projects at a right angle and gives the hand a comfortable means of grasping it powerfully. These oars are very well planed, but otherwise unornamented. In Buka the oar (hose) is equipped with a long, pointed, lance-shaped blade and this is frequently decorated in bas relief--usually with the characteristic grotesque head or human figure, sometimes with a bird or fish, and sometimes also with round figures or zigzag lines; here the handle is never provided with a crook. I would like to mention that this characteristic Buka oar is still rather common nowadays, but it is cited completely erroneously in handbooks

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as well as in museums as stemming from New Mecklenburg (New Ireland). I find this statement first in the work by Schmeltz and Krause on the Godeffroy Museum (which first appeared in 1881), and although Schmeltz subsequently corrected this statement, it has nevertheless--like many another mistake--been widely circulated. The oars depicted by Schmeltz and Krause are quite characteristic for the extreme northwest of the Solomon Islands; nowhere else does one find the ornamentation represented on the oar blades, which one with justification can designate as the coat of arms of Buka and the neighboring tribes. The figure bears the name kokara. 501 171

The rowing is done at various tempos, but the oars are always placed in the water simultaneously, whether the tempo is slow or rapid. The faster the tempo, the deeper the blade of the oar is dipped and the farther the trunk of the body is bent forward; then the light boat shoots across the waves with great velocity and in an hour quite often covers ten nautical miles. A few years ago on the east coast of Buka I saw a boat that was manned by 36 rowers maintain this velocity for almost two hours; the chieftain who was standing up in the boat spurred his men on with loud cries. On the high seas, the slender vessel literally flew from one wave to the next; occasionally, when it was crossing a high wave, over one-third of the long body was hovering above the water. With a watch in my hand I [34] observed the rapidity of the oar strokes for a time and found that it was never less than 35 strokes per minute, but from time to time increased up to 60 per minute. At a normal and medium tempo the rowing is accompanied as a rule by a peculiar howling singing; at a rapid and the most rapid tempo, however, all is silent, and at most one hears from time to time the encouraging cry of the chieftain. Even the women know how to handle the oars well; they take care of the market traffic, and therefore one rather frequently sees large boats occupied only by women (with at most an old man at the rudder), who are going from the islands to the opposite mainland in order to trade fish etc. for taro and other foodstuffs. 502

Fishing

Fishing is a main occupation on the islands as well as on the coasts. In his book Guppy gives an exhaustive description of the fishing methods current in the Shortland Islands. They are also in use further north. As far as nets are concerned, I observed seines of great 226

As far as nets are concerned, I observed sizes of great length everywhere. Their breadth or depth varies from 75 centimeters to 2 meters, and the length from 50 to 300 meters. The very large nets are always the common property of a village or the inhabitants of a small island. In addition, one finds also the hand nets described by Guppy, which are fastened to a frame that is open at the bottom. These also have the most varied sizes. There are small ones, about 1 1/2 meters long, and others that are 8 to 10 meters long. As a rule these nets are used in such a way that a whole group of men surround a school of fish and then, with nets set adjacent to one another, gradually decrease the size of the circle so that the fish cannot escape. Fishing by means of square nets, which are fastened to the four corners of a cross of bamboo cane, does not extend on the east side of Bougainville any farther north than the Martin Islands. In sheltered waters one frequently sees high frames of thin tree trunks or bamboo canes, between which spread nets hang. The fisherman sits on the frame and drops the net, in which normally some bait is placed, into the sea; when he sees that fish are swimming above it, he cautiously raises it and thus catches the prey.

Fishing by means of a kite is carried on all the way to Buka. The kite is made from a type of broad palm leaves; the light cord to which it is attached is fastened to the boat; another string, from which a fish hook hangs, extends from the kite to the surface of the sea. The boat is propelled against the wind by its occupants; if a fish bites, the kite sinks, and the catch is pulled in. On the high seas one frequently sees bonitos being caught with hooks. Here it is necessary that the boat be propelled rapidly. Therefore bonito fishing takes place in the large fast boats that are manned by many rowers. Then a long fishing rod of bamboo is set out on the right and on the left, and to each is attached an approximately 30 meter line, and to this the hook. Iron fishhooks have replaced in part the original hook, but the latter still preferred for bonito catching. This hook has great similarity to the fishhook of the Polynesians; the rather long arm, to which the line is fastened, is a piece of tridachna shell of, at most, 9 centimeters in length and 1/2 centimeter in width with an oblong oval cross section. At the upper end a notch is cut so that the line may be fastened better; at the lower end there are two or three notches on each side, which serve to secure the approximately 4 centimeter long curved, very sharp hook of tortoise shell.

On the reefs fish are caught with a spear, and also with arrows.

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On north Bougainville I repeatedly observed a multi-pronged arrow; 226
the points attached to the arrowshaft, which were arranged after the 227
fashion of the well-known fishing spears, consisted of 4 to 6 very
sharp and pointed bamboo splinters. The owners of these arrows
were inhabitants of the interior; I assume that the arrow is used
principally in the rivers and water courses in the interior since I never
observed it among the coastal inhabitants.

North Bougainville and Buka have one fishing method that is not [171]
found in the south: namely, fishing by means of artificial weir
baskets. These weir baskets (in Buka: fwou) are made from the leaf
ribs of the coconut palm; they are 1 to 1 1/2 meters high and conical
in shape; the lower circular opening measures up to [35] one meter
in diameter. The leaf ribs lie close together and are firmly attached
at intervals of 5 to 10 centimeters; only the upper ends have no con-
nection for a length of 15 to 25 centimeters. When using it, one in-
serts into the upper end a little ring of tough wood (in Buka: fapirik).
This ring is fastened to a straight stick about 25 to 30 centimeters long by
means of four thinner rods which run from its edge to the middle. The
ring is used to make the weir basket taut; the projecting ends at the
top of the basket are attached to the central rod by means of a string,
and this keeps the entire implement taut. This weir basket is often
used in shallow water; the fisherman holds the upper and pointed end
in his hand and drops the open lower end over the fish to be caught.

In the narrow drains of the mangrove swamps the fish are caught
by means of fish dams; these are made in the following way: between
and on sticks which, at a distance of about 1 meter from each other,
are stuck in the ground diagonally across the course of the water, a
wicker work of coconut leaves is fastened, so that when the water
level falls the fish are blocked off from the sea.

It goes without saying that all the fish caught in the sea are also 262
used as food. Sea cucumbers, cuttlefish, snails and mollusks of
every description find their way into the cooking pot. The native
can exactly distinguish the poisonous fish--and their number is not [825]
slight--from the unharmed ones. Sharks and dolphins are considered
delicacies, but there is no special catching apparatus for them; spear
and arrow are the main weapons used. As a rule they sneak up on 225
tortoises on the small islands and sandbanks when the animals visit
them to lay their eggs; many a tortoise who is resting on the surface
of the sea is also killed by spear.

Hunting

Hunting of land mammals is also zealously carried on, especially 224
the hunt for wild boars; this is normally done by means of dogs who
track down the boar and hurl it to the ground or hold it until it is [231]
stabbed to death. Also the flying dogs (bats) and a variety of cuscus
are hunted; particularly the first are killed in great quantities. 223
Hunting for wild fowl is carried on only to a very limited degree.